

Arms of
HENRY HUDSON
Founder & 1st Assistant of the
MUSCOVY COMPANY
OBIIT 1555.

A
HISTORICAL INQUIRY

CONCERNING

Henry Hudson,

IIIIS

FRIENDS, RELATIVES AND EARLY LIFE,

HIS

CONNECTION WITH THE MUSCOVY COMPANY

AND

DISCOVERY OF DELAWARE BAY.

BY

JOHN MEREDITH READ JR.



ALBANY :

JOEL MUNSSELL.

MDCCCLXVI.

FILED
1860

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for the Northern District of New York.



TO

MY FATHER

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE

Reverently Inscribed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WILMINGTON, 13th October, 1864.

GEN. JOHN M. READ JR., Albany.

Dear Sir : At a meeting of the Historical Society of Delaware, held this evening, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

"Resolved : That the thanks of this Society are eminently due and are hereby presented to Gen. John Meredith Read Jr., for the eloquent and highly interesting oration delivered before the Society this evening."

"Resolved : That Gen. Read be requested to furnish a copy of his Address, to be preserved in our archives, and that the same be published by the Society."

The undersigned, a committee appointed by the Society to transmit the resolutions to you, beg leave to express the hope that you will comply with the request therein contained, so that your valuable discourse may be rendered the more generally accessible to our fellow citizens.

We remain,

Very truly yours,

WILLARD HALL,
ALFRED LEE,
CHARLES BRECK,
LEIGHTON COLEMAN,
L. P. BUSH,
D. M. BATES.

230 STATE STREET, Albany, N. Y., }
January, 12th, 1865. }

Gentlemen :

It gives me pleasure to accede to your request by placing my manuscript at your disposal. As you will readily perceive, it contains an amplification of details, out of place in an oral performance, but essential in a written discourse, wherein new facts and views are advanced. Accustomed to regard the developments of individual as well as of national history, as so many exhibitions of the Providence of God, I have endeavored faithfully to investigate the early life and training of one, who was the instrument in His hands, to practically reveal to the inhabitants of the Old World a great extent of territory, which has finally become the home of a free and enlightened people.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I am, gentlemen, very sincerely yours,

J. M. READ JR.

To

THE HON. WILLARD HALL, President of the Society,

THE RIGHT REV. DR. ALFRED LEE,

THE REVEREND CHARLES BRECK,

THE REVEREND LEIGHTON COLEMAN,

L. P. BUSH, Esquire, M.D., and


D. M. BATES, Esquire.

HENRY HUDSON.

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT WILMINGTON, BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF DELAWARE, ON ITS FIRST ANNIVERSARY.

DISCOURSE.



AS I stand here to-night, upon the soil of Delaware, sacred to me as the cradle and the grave of many of my family, my heart is filled with grateful emotions awakened by the thought, that a Historical Society, composed of the most distinguished citizens, has at last been inaugurated within these borders, and is about to engage in the agreeable duty of gathering up and preserving for all time, the invaluable but hitherto sadly neglected records of the State and Province.

From the precious materials thus collected, I hope to see arise, at no distant day, a clear, luminous and connected narrative, embodying the story of our ancestors' heroic lives.

The discovery and early settlement of America have always been to me subjects replete with intensest interest, and the attempted solution of

some of the questions connected therewith, has furnished me with many delightful hours of reflection.

On this, the first anniversary of an association henceforth pledged to link the glorious memories of the past with the great living realities of the present, I propose to examine critically the life and *antecedents* of Henry Hudson,—with special reference to his discovery of Delaware Bay,—hoping thus to develop the prominent traits of his character, and to reveal with clearness and precision the origin of his visit to these shores. If the views which I am about to present, shall appear to clash with the generally received opinions respecting this remarkable man, and the causes that led him to undertake the voyage which had such important results, I can only say that my convictions are the fruits of patient study, and that I am confident further investigations will substantially confirm the conclusions I have thus deliberately reached. At the same time, I wish it distinctly understood that my sole desire is to obtain an entirely truthful idea of the important, yet obscure points involved in the suggested enquiry. I am therefore quite as anxious to elicit information, as to impart knowledge concerning the subject which I have chosen to illustrate.

People have been so long accustomed to regard Henry Hudson as the peculiar property of New York, that scarcely any one dreams of associating his name with the history of Delaware, and very few are aware that in point of time the latter state has a prior claim to him as her discoverer. Yet such is the fact. To him belongs the first position on your roll of honored names, for he first revealed to the world this bay and river, and made known the beautiful region in which you live. On the 28th of August, 1609, he entered and explored the waters to which your Commonwealth owes its name, whereas the Half Moon did not anchor within Sandy Hook until the evening of the 3d of September. New York is accordingly Delaware's younger sister.

Although the fame of Henry Hudson is coëxtensive with the civilized world, few men of equal distinction have existed, of whose personal history so little has been ascertained.

Detailed accounts of four extraordinary voyages accomplished by him, have been preserved in the curious pages of *Purchas*; but the most diligent efforts of the learned have thus far failed to elicit from any quarter, a single authentic incident connected with his early life.

Nearly a century ago George Steevens said of one of Hudson's great contemporaries: "All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare is, that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon; married and had children there; went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays; returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried."

Here, however, are the outlines of an ample biography, within which, by the aid of parish registers, town deeds and records, diaries, and the gossip of contemporaries, a narrative may be constructed illustrating the career of the poet, from his cradle to his grave.

No such materials have up to the present time been revealed, upon which reliance can be placed for aid in sketching the life of Hudson. That he was an Englishman may indeed be readily and satisfactorily proved, but as to where or when he was born, we have no evidence whatever.

His birth, his parentage, his home, his boyhood, the early days of his manhood, and the influences under which the character and genius of the great discoverer were first developed, would be, to all, matters of deepest interest. Unfortunately, we are met at the very threshold of our investigations,

by the fact that absolutely nothing is known of Hudson, prior to the 19th of April, 1607, when he suddenly appears upon the stage of action as a captain in the employ of the Muscovy Company, and after the brief period of five years of brilliant explorations in the service of the English and the Dutch, prematurely perishes by treachery amid the scenes of his triumphs.

The story of his wonderful discoveries, his hairbreadth escapes, his romantic voyages in wintry seas, are as familiar to us as household words, and we are prepared to recognize in Hudson, the man who, two centuries and a half ago, braving untold dangers, reached a degree of northern latitude surpassed by few modern explorers, and there, noting the singular amelioration of the climate, originated the great idea of an open polar sea,¹ a theory which later investigators have adopted and fully confirmed.

In England we find that his memory is perpetuated in the title of a gigantic trading corporation, and in America, by common consent, his name is affixed to most of the great discoveries which he inaugurated and effected.

¹ American scholars are indebted to the Hon. Henry C. Murphy for establishing Hudson's claim to be considered as the originator of this theory.

From the capes of the Delaware to the ice-bound shores of the Pole, our continent has associations connected with Hudson.

The same tides which glistened in the sun when he first beheld them, still rise and fall in your bay ; the waters of a noble river in the state of New York, as they roll to the ocean, kiss the green banks where his footsteps lingered two hundred and fifty years since, while the stormy waves of a great inland sea, far away in the north, chant an eternal requiem over the remains of the ill-fated discoverer who, centuries since, found his grave in their gloomy depths.

Yet the previous life of this interesting and remarkable man, who filled the world with his name, still remains an entire blank, and is to all as a sealed book. Surely this is a fact well calculated to excite astonishment and provoke enquiry, and I must confess that I have entered upon this portion of my subject with a degree of interest and zeal which has carried me, far beyond my first intentions, into a thorough and extended examination of all the sources at my command, with the hope of eventually throwing light upon a matter so entirely obscure. I am consoled for many hours of patient, and apparently fruitless research, by the

reflection that I have become intimately acquainted with many of the original materials from which the historians of Europe and America have drawn their facts, and have thus been enabled, in quite a number of instances, to modify and correct opinions of men and affairs, which I had derived from writers who were sometimes swayed by party prejudice or personal dislike.

But were these the entire results of my labors, I should feel that however valuable or interesting they might have proved to myself, as far as the subject in hand was concerned, my investigations had indeed been comparatively useless. It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to believe myself correct in the assertion that I have discovered a series of curious facts and striking coincidences, which have escaped the attention of scholars for the last two hundred years, and which, taken in connection with authorities soon to be indicated, may enable a person having access to the treasures of the British Museum, and the ancient records of the Russia Company, to ascertain the antecedents and early history of Henry Hudson.

Before proceeding to sketch that portion of his history which is known, including his discovery of Delaware Bay, I shall endeavor to place before

you as clearly as possible, the fruits of my researches.

After examining all the biographies and notices of this great navigator within my reach, which alone embraced a wide range of reading, I found that, with scarcely an exception, they referred to *Purchas, His Pilgrimes* and *Pilgrimage*, as the fountain head of knowledge on the subject, or were based upon statements made by that author. Having accordingly procured one of the original editions of *Purchas*, published in 1625, fourteen years after Hudson's death, I studied it carefully, page by page, in connection with the two latest and ablest contributions to his life: *Henry Hudson in Holland*, by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, late minister of the United States at The Hague, and *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, by Dr. Asher, member of the Hakluyt Society of London.

The first mention of Hudson by *Purchas* occurs in connection with the Muscovy Company. Edge, in his *Brief Discoverie of the Muscovia Merchants*, says: "In the year 1608,¹ the said fellowship [the Muscovy or Russia Company] set forth a ship called the Hopewell, whereof Henry Hudson was

¹ The real date of this voyage to Spitzbergen is 1607. That of 1608 was directed to Nova Zembla.

master, to discover the pole.”¹ Captain Fotherby, who was also in the employ of the Muscovy Company, speaks of having “perused Hudson’s journal.”² But the earliest reference to a personal incident in the life of the great mariner is to be found in the journal of the first voyage, “of that worthy irrecoverable discoverer Master Henry Hudson,” as given by Purchas.³ “Anno, 1607, *Aprill the nineteenth*, at St. Ethelburge, in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the parishioners these persons, seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson, master. Secondly, William Colines, his mate. Thirdly, James Young. Fourthly, John Colman. Fifthly, John Cooke. Sixtly, James Beuberry. Seventhly, James Skrutton. Eightly, John Pleyce. Ninthly, Thomas Baxter. Tenthly, Richard Day. Eleventhly, James Knight. Twelfthly, John Hudson, a boy.” A singularly small crew, when we consider the extent and hazardous character of the explorations, which were principally along the coast of Spitzbergen; were undertaken for the Muscovy Company, and had for their

¹ *Purchas*, III, 464. ² *Ib.*, III, 730. ³ *Ib.*, III, 567.

object the discovery of a north-eastern passage to China.

The journal of the second voyage, made for a like purpose, in 1608, also at the expense of the Muscovy Company, and which resulted in making known a portion of Nova Zembla, next demands our attention.

In quick succession follow the records of Hudson's third voyage in 1609, when, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, he discovered New Netherland, and the account of his fourth and last voyage in 1610-11, in search of a north-west passage to China. It was in this expedition, the cost of which was defrayed by several English gentlemen, of whom Sir Dudley Digges was one, that Hudson met his tragic end.

Having thus ascertained, with sufficient accuracy for present purposes, the extent of the information contained in *Purchas*, we are prepared to appreciate the peculiarly abrupt manner in which Hudson is introduced to our notice. Without a single prefatory remark about his previous career, he is first suddenly mentioned as a *Captain in the employ of the Muscovy Company*, just starting upon a long and perilous voyage, which must require from the commander of the expedition great cour-

age, entire coolness, thorough seamanship, wide knowledge and enlarged experience.

He is thus presented to our view as a character with whose antecedents we must, as a matter of course, be perfectly conversant. He is so well known to worthy Purchas his name and fame are so fresh in the minds of all, when that author records his deeds, that, forgetful of posterity, he fails to say anything of the earlier history of his hero; and we are left at this late day, to beat our brains with vain conjectures about the early experiences of an extraordinary man, whose origin Purchas might have indicated with a stroke of his pen.

The omission of all allusion to the prior life of Hudson does not so entirely astonish me, when I remember the circumstances under which Purchas compiled his work. He states in his *Pilgrimage*, that he received the accounts of Hudson's first three voyages from Hakluyt. Now, I find in the valuable introduction to Sir Henry Middleton's *East India Voyage*¹ by Bolton Corney, M. R. S. L., the following interesting paragraph intended to account for the mutilation of the records of the early East India voyages, but which will serve

¹ *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1855.

equally well to explain the singular omissions apparent in Purchas's narrative of Hudson's career: "Hakluyt undertook the custody of the manuscript journals of the voyages and travels to which it was held unadvisable to give immediate publicity; comprising voyages to Virginia and *to the north-western seas*, and all the East India voyages from 1601 almost to the date of his decease in 1616."

"About the year 1620, under circumstances which are nowhere distinctly stated, the collections formed by Hakluyt came into the hands of the reverend Samuel Purchas,¹ whose *Pilgrimages or Relations of the World*, an unfinished work which was first published in 1613, had then reached its third edition. Now Purchas, instead of framing a continuation of the *Principal Navigations*, as edited by Hakluyt, aspired to supersede those volumes by a new compilation, which should include the Hakluyt papers and his own collections. In con-

¹ "It is to be regretted that this compiler [Purchas] should have adopted the plan of curtailing all his narratives; we get more facts, within a given compass, it is true, but this advantage is more than compensated by the loss of the interest, and indeed confidence, which a genuine unabridged narrative always inspires." Winter Jones's Introduction to Hakluyt's *Voyages to America*, p. xxxiv.

sequence of this injudicious resolution he was compelled, as he admits, to *contract* and *epitomize* his vast materials. After much laborious application, made irksome by bodily infirmity, he published the results in 1625, in four folio volumes, with the quaint title of *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*.”¹

It was in those large and costly volumes, and under such unfavorable circumstances, that the voyages of Hudson made their appearance. It is not difficult to account for the meagre and unsatisfactory manner in which Purchas presents the relations of Hudson’s achievements, when we know that he compressed the journal of Sir Henry Middleton’s voyage “into less than *one-twentieth part* of its real extent.”²

But since our object at present is not to account for the shortcomings of Purchas, but rather to supply the deficiencies in that portion of his work which relates to Hudson, we naturally turn to the published volumes of Hakluyt, from whose exhaustless manuscript stores the *Pilgrimage* and *Pilgrimes* were compiled. And here we are once more at fault; for the venerable Hakluyt com-

¹ Bolton Corney’s Introduction to Sir Henry Middleton’s *East India Voyage*, *Hak. Soc. Pub.*, 1855, pp. iii, iv.

² *Hak. Soc. Pub.*, 1855, p. v.

pleted "his far-famed volumes, entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*," in the last year of the sixteenth century, A. D. 1599, and "no augmented edition of the work was ever produced, nor any continuation of it on the same judicious plan."¹ There is, therefore, the hiatus of eight years, from 1599 to 1607, between the publishing of Hakluyt's work, and the appearance of Hudson in Purchas's volumes. On turning to the 1599 edition of Hakluyt, I find no mention of *our* Henry Hudson. But I gain much interesting information in relation to the Muscovy or Russia Company, and here discover the remarkable chain of coincidences to which I referred in a preceding part of this address.

I have already mentioned that Henry Hudson is first introduced to our notice by Purchas, as a "Captain" in the service of the Muscovy Company on the 19th of April, 1607. I now discover, from the pages of Hakluyt, that another Henry Hudson, fifty-two years earlier, i. e., the 6th of February, 1555, was named in Queen Mary's Charter as one of the founders and first assistants of the Muscovy or Russia Company. Thus, with

¹Corney's *Introduction*.

half a century between them, we have Henry Hudson, one of the founders of this great corporation, and Henry Hudson a valued and experienced captain in its service. I also find a Christopher Hudson repeatedly spoken of as one of the factors of the Muscovy Company, and finally as their agent in Russia in 1560. Moreover, I notice in the first volume of Hakluyt, the name of Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, England, captain in the employ of the Muscovy Company in 1580-1.¹

To say the least, the coincidence of name is somewhat singular; and I can only account for its having escaped entirely the attention of previous investigators, by explaining that the first Henry Hudson's name is spelt by Hakluyt, *Herdson*. That this same individual's name was also spelt *Hudson*, I learn from the *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery*, reign of Elizabeth, vol. II, page 24. The name of Christopher Hudson is spelt by Hakluyt in a great variety of ways—Hudson, Hodson, Hodsdon. Having, however, consulted at the outset of my studies the learned Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, wherein Heardson is said to be

¹ The Advertisements and Reports of the 6th voyage made into the parts of Russia and Media for the Companie * * * * in the years 1579-80-81. By Christopher Burrough, in Hakluyt, I, 421.

from Herdington or Hodgskinson, and Hodson from Hod or Oddo,¹ and having read also Lower's curious derivation of Hudson from Roger, I was fully prepared for a variety of peculiarities in the modes of spelling Hudson.² Before attempting to present the information which I have collected about the first Henry Hudson, Christopher Hudson and Thomas Hudson, and before endeavoring to sum up my convictions as to the relations which they each sustained to our Henry Hudson, it will be well to gain an insight into the history of the great corporation with which they were all connected; and whose arch-

¹ Camden's *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, London, 1637, p. 133.

² The following account of the origin of this name is to be found in the London ed., 1860, of Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*, p. 159. "Hodgson, the son of Hodge or Roger. This name in the north of England is pronounced Hodgkin, while in the south it has taken not only the pronunciation, but the spelling of Hodson or *Hudson*. The name of Hodgson is ancient at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, being found in the records of temp. Edward I, and the Hodgsons of Stella and Acton Co., Northumberland, trace a clear pedigree to 1424." Again on p. 292, same work: "*Roger*. A personal name unknown here before the conquest. Many persons called Roger, and Rogerous, occur as tenants in Domesday. From it are formed Rogers, Rodgers, Rogerson, &c., and from its nick-name Hodge, we get Hodges, Hodgson, Hodgkin, Hotekin, Hotehkins, Hotelkiss, Hodgkinson, Hockins, Hodd, Hodson, *Hudson*. The Norman patronymical form is Fitz-Roger, and the Welsh, Ap-Roger, now Prodger."

ives, if they are still extant, contain, I am inclined to believe, original and highly interesting information concerning the earlier life of the great Navigator, whose antecedents are the subject of our immediate enquiry.

The search for a northwestern passage to China was first practically inaugurated by Sebastian Cabot, who sailed from England, in the beginning of May, 1498. Half a century later, the same individual, in his old age, promulgated the idea of a northerly opening to India or Cathay, and at his instigation, a company, of which he was made governor, was organized for its discovery. This association, styled the Company of Merchant Adventurers, is, after a brilliant career of more than three hundred years, still in existence, though generally known as the Muscovy or Russia Company. It has, however, long since abandoned the objects it was originally intended to promote.

In explanation of the ready support accorded to Cabot's scheme, we need only be reminded of the condition of the maritime affairs of Britain, at that period. The Germans and Italians had long monopolized the English trade. But at this time transatlantic discoveries, and the commerce consequent thereon were beginning to develop, in a won-

derful degree, the material resources of Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, while the prosperity of Italy and the Hanse towns was proportionately declining. England, whose commerce visibly languished under the change, now became eager to escape from the waning powers which had so long controlled her, and was willing to engage in any enterprise that might afford a chance of commercial independence.

Accordingly, Cabot's plan for distancing all competitors by the discovery of a shorter route to India by the north-east, immediately arrested the attention of men of influence, who were ready to embark at once in a project offering such desirable results.

Clement Adams, in his *Neve Navigation and Discoverie of the Kingdome of Muscovia, by the North-east, in the yeere 1553*, says: "At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about us and neere unto us, and that those merchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their owne portes, and all forreine merchandizes in great accompt and their prises wonderfully raised; cer-

taine graue citizens of London, and men of great wisdom, and carefull for the good of their country, began to thinke with themselves howe this mischiefe might be remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconvenience: for, seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portugalse, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and countreys was marueilously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obtaine the like, they thereupon resolved upon a newe and strange nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowned, happened to be in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speeche and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the northerne part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and unknowen kingdomes.”¹

Thus it happened that as early as the 10th of May, 1553, before the association was formally re-

¹ Hakluyt, I, 243.

cognized by the Crown, it had despatched an expedition¹ under Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain General of the Fleet² to prosecute the above design.

¹ Hakluyt, I, 226-230, has carefully preserved the "*Ordinances, Instructions, and Aduertisements of and for the Direction of the intended Voyage for Cathay*, compiled, made and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, Gouvernour of the misterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553."

² "Nowe this prouision being made and carried aboard, with armoure and ammunition of all sorts, sufficient Capitaines and Gouvernours of so great an enterprise were yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men offered themselves, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughby, a most valiant gentleman, and well borne, uery earnestly requested to have that care and charge committed to him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as for his singular skill in the seruices of war, the company of the *Marchants* [of Muscovia] made greatest accompt; so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him *for the Generall of this voyage and appointed to him the Admirall*, with authoritie and command ouer all the rest."—*Clement Adams*. Hakluyt, I, 243-244, ed. 1599.

In all expeditions consisting of more than two vessels, one was appointed to lead, and was denominated the *Admiral*; another was elected to keep a look-out astern; and was known as the *Vice-Admiral*. The officer in command of the entire fleet was named the *General*, and he sailed in the *Admiral*. The second in command, was styled the *Lieutenant General*, and he sailed in the *Vice-Admiral*. For an exceedingly interesting article entitled "Shipping," see appendix, Note A, to Rindall's very valuable work, *Voyages to the North West*, 229.

After untold hardships and terrific sufferings, two of these vessels, with their crews and their leader Sir Hugh, reached an obscure harbor on the desolate coast of Lapland. Here he sent out in a south-south-westerly direction, three men to search for some inhabitants, who went three days journey but could find none. Afterwards, three others were dispatched four days' journey to the west, who also returned without finding any people. Three men next proceeded three days' journey to the south-east, who in like sort, returned without finding any signs of habitation. Thus helpless, hopeless and abandoned, they were found by some Russian fishermen who, attracted by the absence of all appearance of life, boarded the ships and discovered the unfortunate men frozen to death. The corpse of the gallant Willoughby was seated, it is said, at a table in the cabin, with a pen in its hand and the ship's Journal before it, on whose pages was traced the story of the unavailing efforts to find escape from the approaches of an appalling death. The ships, with the dead bodies and most of the goods, were sent to England by the company's agent at Moscow, but being unstaunched by their two years wintering in Lapland, the unfor-

fortunate vessels sunk by the way with their dead and them also that brought them.¹

A happier fate befell the third vessel of the squadron, the *Edward Bonaventure*, which carried Richard Chancellor, pilot-major of the fleet, and was commanded by Stephen Burrough, whose subsequent discoveries rendered him famous. This ship succeeded in entering safely the Bay of St. Nicholas, since better known as the White Sea, and on the 24th of August, 1553, arrived at the western mouth of the River Dwina. From this point Richard Chancellor made his way overland to the court of the Emperor of Russia, where a most cordial reception awaited him, of which he afterwards wrote an interesting account, contained in "The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of Russia and Duke of Moscovia."²

Though the failure of Willoughby's part of the Muscovy Company's first expedition was peculiarly distressing, yet the success of that portion under the command of Richard Chancellor laid the foundations of the Company's prosperity, and of the

¹ Hakluyt, I, 236, 237, ed. 1599. Milton's *Brief History of Muscovia*, p. 597.

² Hakluyt, I, 237.

commercial and political relations which, with but slight interruptions, have continued to exist between Russia and England to the present day.¹

Soon after the inauguration of intercourse between these countries, which was not only to exercise great influence over individuals, but also materially to affect the destinies of two powerful nations, the *Company of Merchant Adventurers*, called also *The Society for the Discovery of Unknown Lands*, obtained from Queen Mary, a Charter bearing date the 6th of February, 1555. In the same year the Emperor of Russia granted these incorporated English Merchants a formal Charter of Privileges to trade throughout his dominions,² in accordance with the informal permission he had already given them in his letter to Edward VI, forwarded February, 1554, by the hands of Richard Chancellor. Subsequently, in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

¹ Hakluyt, I, 255, gives "*The Copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour,*" dated February, 1554, giving the English permission to trade. We find also in Hakluyt, I, 258, 259, "*Letters of King Philip and Queene Marie*" to the Emperor of Russia, written April 1st, 1555, and sent by Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth and Richard Graie.

² Hakluyt, I, 265-267, ed. 1599.

1566, they procured an act of Parliament, in which they were styled, *The Fellowship of English Merchants For Discovery of New Trades*. Under this title they still continue, although, as I have already said, they are better known by the designation of the *Muscovy or Russia Company*.

It is in the first Patent or Charter from Queen Mary given in the year 1555, that the name of *Henry Herdson* occurs.

From this Charter we learn that “William *Marques* of Winchester *Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England*, Henrie *Earle of Arundel Lord Stewarde of our householde*, John *Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale*, William *Earle of Pembroke*, William *Lorde Howard of Effingham Lorde high Admirall of oursaide Realme of England*,” were among the most active originators of the Company, and that the instrument of incorporation itself was given in answer to their humble petition.¹

Sebastian ‘Cabota’ or Cabot, is named by the Charter first Governor of the Company; “George *Barnes*, Knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret, Alderman of our said Citie, Anthonie Husie, and John Suthcot,” are consti-

¹ Hakluyt, I, pp. 267, 268.

tuted "the first and present *four* Consuls of the said fellowship;" and "Sir John Gresham, Knight, Sir Andrew Judde, Knight, Sir Thomas White, Knight, Sir John Yorke, Knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, *Henry Herdson*, John Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geoffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, John Elliot, John Sparke, Blase Sanders and Miles Mording," are ordained the first "twenty-four *Assistants* to the saide Gouernour."¹

The intentions of the Company to send out expeditions to the Northwards, North-eastwards, and North-westwards are clearly indicated by this Charter; and protection is expressly guaranteed² against the interference of others in the searches in those directions.

I have already particularly directed your attention to the fact that the name of Henry Hudson, the founder of the Muscovy Company, is written *Herdson* by Hakluyt, while it is spelled *Hudson* in *The Proceedings Of The Court of Chancery In The*

¹ Hakluyt, I, 268, 269.

² Hakluyt I, 268, 272.

Reign Of Elizabeth. This need occasion no surprise if we will remember that Lower derives Hudson from Roger, and that Camden refers it to Herd-
 ington. But further than this, I have found the above individual and his sons under each of the following forms: Herdson, Herdsun, Herdsone, Herdsoun, Heardson, Hardson, Hudson; and I have seen the name also spelled, Hodson, Hoddeson, Hodshon, Hodgson, Hodgeson, Hudgeson, Hogsdon, Hogeson, Hodisdon, Hodesdon, Hoddeson, Hoddessedonn, Hoddessen, Huddeson.¹ In fact my investigations have developed a still more inconceivable variety of methods, but I am content to cite the preceding twenty-one examples, for the purpose of illustrating the constant changes which English names underwent in that age,² and to show how exceedingly difficult it is to recognize always the person for whom we are searching. It was not indeed uncommon in the 16th century even, for a man to spell his own name differently at different periods of his life. Many interesting facts

¹ Hakluyt, *Proc. Ct. Ch.*, Rg. of Eliz. Machyn's *Diary*. *Magna Britannia*. Sims' *Index to Heraldic Visitations*. The *Topographer and Genealogist*, London, 1853. Stow's *Survey of London*.

² Mr. Cayley when speaking of Sir Walter Raleigh's name says: "Few names vary so much in the manner of writing it."

doubtless escape the attention of students, simply because the person to whom they relate is effectually disguised by the uncouth spelling of his name. Bearing this in mind I have endeavored to identify my personages under all circumstances.

The Henry Hudson¹ who is named in Queen Mary's charter as one of the founders and first Assistants of the Muscovy Company, was a man of large wealth and extended influence.² He was a

We have seen it written in thirteen different ways, namely: Raleigh, Raleghe, Raleigh, Rawleigh, Rawlie, Rawley, Rawly, Rauleighe, Rale, Real, Reali, Ralego. His original letters in the Harleian Collection, and his MS. Journal of his Second Voyage, prove that Sir Walter himself wrote Raleigh. In his commission for his second journey to Guiana it is written in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Rawleigh, while the commission is headed: 'De Commissione Speciali dilecto Waltero Rawley Militi concernente Voiagium Guianianum.' Sir Arthur Georges in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil writes it Rawly. In the copy of Sir Walter's arraignment, Sir Thomas Overbury writes the name Rawleigh. In the scarce pamphlet, 'Newes of Sir Walter Rauleigh,' it is spelt in the manner just mentioned. Fray Simon calls him "Real o Reali," Gili "Ralego." King James in his Declaration writes the name Raleigh, which orthography Sir Walter's son Carew seems to have adopted. Sir Robert Naunton and Lord Bacon write Rawleigh. We have adopted the orthography of Sir Walter himself." Note, pp. xiv, xv, Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*. Hak. Soc. Pub. London, 1848.

¹ I use this spelling to avoid confusion.

² I have been unable to find any connected account of him; the information in the text is gleaned from a great variety of sources.

citizen of London, and a member of the corporation of Skinners, or Tanners,¹ one of the twelve privileged Companies from which alone the Lord Mayor can be chosen.²

“This Company of Skinners,” says Stow, “was incorporate by Edward the 3. in the first of his reigne; they had two Brotherhoods of Corpus Christi, viz. one at St. Mary Spittle,³ the other at St. Mary Bethlem, without Bishopsgate. Rich-

¹ The Skinners, or Tanners, vide “Diary of Henry Machyn, A. D. 1550 to 1563.” Camden Soc. Pub. 1848, page 99.

² There are in the City of London seventy-two Companies of which twelve are the Chief, who have this Preëminence that the Lord-mayor must always be free of one of them, for if it happens that a Mayor be elected out of any other Company, he must remove to one of those twelve, before he can be sworn and act. These Companies are,

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mercers.</i> | 7. <i>Merchant Taylors.</i> |
| 2. <i>Grocers.</i> | 8. <i>Haberdashers.</i> |
| 3. <i>Drapers.</i> | 9. <i>Salters.</i> |
| 4. <i>Fishmongers.</i> | 10. <i>Ironmongers.</i> |
| 5. <i>Goldsmiths.</i> | 11. <i>Vintners.</i> |
| 6. <i>Skinners.</i> | 12. <i>Clothworkers.</i> |

The other Companies are equal to these in other Privileges, all of them enjoying large Immunities and Benefits by their Royal Charters granted to them severally, and most of them have fair Halls to meet in for the regular Government of their members.

Aet. of London, *Magna Britannia*, III, pp. 75, 76. Edition of 1738.

³ Hospital.

ard the Second, in the eighteenth of his reigne, granted them to make their two Brotherhoods one, by the name of the Fraternity of *Corpus Christi* of Skinners. Divers royall persons were named to bee Founders, and Brethren of this Fraternity, to wit; Kings sixe, Dukes nine, Earles two, Lords one, Kings, Edward the third, Richard the second, Henry the fifth, Henry the sixth, and Edward the fourth."¹

Mr. Hudson served as an Alderman² and would undoubtedly have been elected to the Mayoralty had his life been spared. Like his contemporary Sir John Gresham the elder, uncle of the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, Mr. Hudson having amassed a great fortune in trade, became the purchaser of extensive landed estates. I find in the *Magna Britannia*, published in 1738, that after the suppression of the Monasteries, the crown granted the forfeited church lands at Hitchin, in the County of Hertfordshire, to Edward Watson and Henry Hudson, Gentleman.³

¹ Stow's *Survey of London*, 248, ed. 1633.

² Machyn's *Diary*, p. 99. *Proc. Ct. Chancery*, Reign of Eliz., vol. II, p. 24.

³ "Hitchin; here are two small Priories, the one of white Carmelites, founded by John Blomville, Adam Rouse, and John Colham, and dedicated to our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin

Sir Bernard Burke, in his account of the Dixwell Family, speaks of Henry Hudson Esq., of Stourton, in *Lincolnshire*.¹ Although I have been unable to trace him to that locality, owing doubtless to the absence of the proper authorities, I am decidedly of the opinion that Henry Hudson possessed property in that neighborhood at an early period; I am the more firmly convinced of the fact, as it explains the constant intercourse, and intimate business relations, evidently existing between him and Edward, Lord Clinton, who built the fine mansion at Sempringham,² and had other great estates in *Lincolnshire*.

To use the words of Mr. Burgon in his life of Sir Thomas Gresham : "This may be as proper a place as any other to mention, that my reading

and King *Edward* II, confirm'd the Endowments. These Monks held this House till 21 *Henry* VIII, when it was surrender'd to that King, being valued at £4. 9s. 4d. *per Ann.* After the Dissolution, it was granted to *Edward* Watson and *Henry* Herdson Gent., who conveyed it to the *Radcliffs*, in which family it still remains, *Sir Ralph Radcliff* being the present owner."

Magna Britannia, Act. of Hertfordshire, ed. Lon. 1738, II, 1027.

¹ Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetage*, 161, 162. London, 1838.

² *Magna Britannia*, II, 1416. London ed., 1738.

has led me to quite a different conclusion respecting the estimation in which merchants were formerly held, to that entertained by the elegant author of *Illustrations of British History*. Mr. Lodge considers that the nobility of other days kept themselves at a distance from even the first members of the commercial order;¹ but I believe the contrary will be established by the following pages. What is strange, the nobles appear among the most enterprising speculators, and were themselves traders on the grandest scale. In Queen Mary's reign, for instance, when the Muscovy merchants were incorporated (that is to say, the first English company which traded to Russia), the most powerful of the nobility stand foremost in the list of members."²

"The Earls of Leicester and Shrewsbury sent out joint-adventures to Muscovia in 1574; on which occasion the first-named peer writes to his friend, 'I assure you if I had had 10,000*l.* in my purse, I wold have adventured it every peny myself.'³"

Mr. Hudson's friend "Lord Clinton and Say,"

¹ *Illustrations of British History*, vol. III, p. 151, Note.

² Stryp's Stowe, ed. 1720, ch. v., 260.

³ Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. II, p. 46. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. I, 47, 48.

is frequently mentioned by Machyn.¹ He was created Lord High Admiral of England by patent the 14th of May (4 Edw. VI), 1550; and retained that office until the 10th of March, 1554; when he was succeeded by Lord Howard of Effingham. He was again appointed Lord Admiral by Philip and Mary in 1558; and was continued by Queen Elizabeth, who advanced him, in the 14th year of her reign, to the earldom of Lincoln. He was one of her Majesty's Privy Council; and one of those appointed for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. He died while in office in the year 1585.²

From Lord Clinton, who was, by the way, an ancestor of the late Duke of New Castle,³ who accompanied the Prince of Wales to this Country, Mr. Hudson purchased the *manor of Bertrams* and the *manor of Newington juxta Hith*, or *Newington Belhouse*, in the "Lathe," or Hundred of Shepway, County of Kent.⁴ From the same nobleman, he

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, pages 6, 7, 9, 20, 31, 35, 79, 143, 197, 202, 207, 233.

²Lists of Officers of State during the period covered by Machyn's *Diary*. Prepared by John Gough Nichols, F. S. A. Camden Soc. Pub., 1848, page xvi. *Magna Britannia*, II, 14-42, Lond., ed. 1737. For an extended account of Clinton, see Lodge, II.

³ Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*.

⁴ *Mag. Brit.*, II, 1184, 1185.

bought the ancient manors of *Stelting*, *Ackhanger*, *Terlingham*, and the still more venerable and extensive manors of *Folkston* and *Walton*.¹ He was also Lord of the manor of *Sweton*.²

Alderman Henry Hudson died in the City of London, of a peculiar kind of malignant fever, which raged with such violence in the metropolis, that seven aldermen, Hudson, Dobbs, Laxton, Hobblethorne, Champneys, Ayloff, and Gresham,³ fell victims to it, within the space of ten months.⁴

¹ *Mag. Brit.*, II, pages, 1178, 1183, 1184.

² *Proc. Court of Chancery*, Reign of Elizabeth, II, 24. No. 56.

³ Sir John Gresham, the elder, deceased the 23d October, 1555. He was Sheriff of London in 1537, and was knighted while in office. In 1547, while Lord Mayor, he revived the splendid pageant of the Marching Watch. Stow's *Survey*, ed. 1720, quoted by Burgon. Sir John Gresham, Senior, should not be confounded with his nephew Sir John Gresham, whose name heads the list of Assistants of the Muscovy Company in Queen Mary's Charter. The younger Sir John was born in 1518, received the honor of Knighthood from the Protector Somerset, on the field, after the victory of Musselburgh, in 1547. Like the rest of his family he was a mercer and merchant-adventurer. He died in the year 1560. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thos. Gresham*, I, 369, 370.

⁴ Machyn's *Diary*. Notes, page 353. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, I, 19.

"The last year began the hote burning feuers whereof, died many olde persons, so that in London died seven Alderman, in the space of tenne moneths." Howe's *Abridge*. Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 276, London, 1618.

Machyn gives the following account of the imposing ceremonies observed at his funeral: "The XX day of Dessember [1555] was bered at sant Donstones in the Est master Hare Herdsun, altherman of London and skynner, and on of the masturs of the hospetall of the gray frers¹ in London, with men and xxiiij women in mantyll fresse² gownes, a hersse of wax,³ and hong with blake;

¹ *Grey Friars*. The following Latin sepulchral inscription found in the *Church of the Grey Friars, London*, refers perhaps to the parents of this Henry Hudson:—"Rondolfi Hudson civis et aurifate, Lond. et Elizabeth ux eius; qui ob 27, June 1530." Vide *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, V, 392.

In this connection it may be proper to mention that the account of the "Meeting of Henry VIII, and Charles V" (given page 57, Rutland Papers, Camden Soc. Publications, London, 1842), contains a notice of the attendance upon the English King during his pleasant visit to Gravelines on the 10th of July, 1520, in which an allusion is made to a *William Hodgeson* or *Hudson* as 'Chiefe Officer of the Botrye.' Thomas More is also spoken of as 'Chiefe Officer of the Pitcher House,' and Thomas Weldon, an ancestor of sir Anthony, the libeller of the Stuarts, is referred to as holding an office apparently of inferior rank in the cwry.

² Probably frieze made purposely for mantles.

³ The Hearse was, on grand occasions, ready to receive the corpse when it arrived within the Church; having been erected a day or two before. It was a frame "made of timber, and covered with black, and armes upon the blacke." The term "herse of wax," is one of continual recurrence, and is to be understood not of the material of the hearse itself, but of the candles and

and ther was my lord mare and the swordberer in blake, and dyvers odur althermen in blake, and the resedew of the aldermen, atys beryng; and all the masters, boyth althermen and odur, with ther gren stayffes in ther handes, and all the chyldeyn of the gray frersse, and iiij men in blake gownes bayryng iiij gret stayffes-torchys bornyng, and then xxiiij men with torchys bornyng; and the morowe iij masses songe; and after to ys plasse to dener; and ther was ij goodly whyt branchys, and mony prestes and clarkes syngyng.”¹

tapers with which it was covered. What we now call a hearse is described by Machyn as, “a wagon with iiij wheels, all covered with blacke.”

¹ “Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London,” was born in the year 1496 or 1498. He was probably “in that department of the trade of a merchant-taylor which we now call an undertaker or furnisher of funerals.” The remarkable Diary of which he was the author, covers a period of thirteen eventful years, viz. : from 1550 to 1563. It doubtless originated from the nature of the writer’s business, and it is at first a mere record of the principal Funerals for which he was employed to provide. The first event of another kind commemorated is the committal of Bishop Gardiner to the Tower in Feb., 1550–1; after which he enters every occurrence that struck him as deserving of remembrance. Strype, the English Ecclesiastical Historian, incorporated in his works many passages from Machyn’s *Diary*, which have been frequently quoted by subsequent writers.

The manuscript itself was in the Cottonian Library, and suffered somewhat in the fire. The injured leaves were kept

Mr. Hudson's widow Barbara afterwards married Alderman Sir Richard Champion,¹ who was elected Sheriff in 1558-9 ; Lord Mayor of London 1566 ; and died without issue in 1568.² The lady Barbara was godmother to Thomas White, son of Sir John White, and nephew of the Sir Thomas White, whom we recognize as one of the Muscovy Company's first Assistants.³ She erected a monument in St. Dunstan's in the East, with kneeling effigies of herself and both the aldermen her husbands.

The arms of Henry Hudson were Argent, semée of fleurs-de-lis gules, a cross engrailed sable.⁴

loose in a case until 1829, when they were carefully arranged, and inlaid, under the superintendence of Sir Frederick Madden, who bears witness to their value.

In 1848, the Camden Society of London, printed the *Diary*, from the original manuscript. The publication was edited by John Gough Nichols, F. S. A., who says ; “ these records will afford valuable assistance to the family historian and genealogist.” I am indebted to Mr. Nichols' admirable Introduction and learned notes, for my information respecting Machyn, and the origin of his *Diary*.

¹ Nichols' *Notes to Machyn's Diary*, Camden Soc. Publications, London, 1848, page 347.

²The *Magna Britannia* has it Oct. 30th, 1561. I prefer to follow the date given on his monument, viz : Oct. 30th, 1568. See Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 139, ed. 1633.

³ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 248, Hakluyt I, 269, ed. 1599.

⁴ Nichols' *Notes to Machyn's Diary*, Cam. Soc. Pub. London, 1848, page 347. List given by William Smith, Rouge-dragon.

The following account of the monument and its surroundings, with the poetical epitaphs, is preserved in Stow's *Survey of London*.¹ "On the South side of the Chancell, [of the Parish Church of St. Dunstan's in the East, Tower Street Ward,] Standeth an ancient Marble Tombe. * * * Close by it standeth another very faire Alabaster Tombe, richly and curiously gilded, and two ancient figures of Aldermen in scarlet Kneeling, the one, at one end of the Tombe in a goodly Arch, the other, at the other end in like manner, and a comely figure of a Lady betweene them, who was wife to them both. By the one standeth a table, with this inscription :

*"Here lyeth Henry Heardsons corps,
within this Tombe of Stone :
His Soule (through faith in Christ's death,)
to God in Heaven is gone.
Whiles that he lived an Alderman,
and Skinner was his state :*

"A Book in fol. of 98 leaves, written in a fair hand on vellum, containing the Arms in Coulours and Pedigrees of Families in the County of Sussex, taken at a visitation A. D. 1634," is mentioned in the Catalogue Harleian MSS., vol. III, p. 335. On page 24 of this document may be found The Arms and Pedigrees of the Hudson Family of Sussex, which might throw much light on the subject under discussion.

¹ Stow's *Survey of London*, 138, 139, ed. 1633.

*To Vertue bare hee all his love,
 to vice he bare his hate.
 His Almes that weekly he bestowed,
 within this Parish here,
 May witnesse to the poores releefe,
 what good will hee did beare.
 He had to wife one Barbara,
 which made this Tombe you see :
 By whom he had of issue store,
 eight sonnes and daughters three.
 Obiit 22. Decemb. An. Dom. 1555."*

By the other standeth the like Table thus inscribed :

The Corps of Richard Champion, Knight,
 Maior and Draper, herein doth rest:
 Whose soule by most assured hope,
 with Christ in Heaven is blest.
 His life was such, and so imployed,
 to right from wrong ; that hee
 Whom God did so direct in life,
 must needs with comfort dye :
 Both rich and poore did like him well,
 and yet doe praise his name :
 Though he behinde him left no child,
 which might declare the same.
 His weekly almes that is bestowed,
 within this Parish here :
 Doth witnesse to the poores comfort,
 the good will hee did beare.

Obiit 30 Octobris, An. Dom. 1568.¹

¹ The following is taken from the 'Account of London' given in *Magna Britannia*, vol. III, page 85.

It will be observed that according to Stow the name was spelled in the epitaph, Heardson. Stow, however, spells it elsewhere, Herdson and Hudson.

The few facts which I have gleaned concerning Henry Hudson, Esquire, founder and Assistant of the Muscovy Company, exhibit his character in the most favorable light. One thing is particularly noticeable; although the lapse of three hundred years has left us a somewhat imperfect view of the man, it has failed to obliterate the record of his charities. We recognize in him one of the leading spirits of an age remarkable for its commercial enterprise; but farther than this, our sympathies are enlisted in his behalf as having been distinguished, by great benevolence and generosity of conduct, through a long and prosperous career.

He was the friend and associate of men of the highest rank, and was held in great respect by

“*St. Dunstan's* in the *East*, is situated between *Thames Street* and *Tower Street*. It is so called to distinguish it from another Church dedicated to the same Saint, standing in *Fleet Street*, and called *St. Dunstan's* in the *West*. The monuments of note in this church are these, viz: For * * * * Sir Richard Champion, who gave £8, per annum. He died October 30th, 1561. For *Henry Herdson*, Alderman, who gave £22, 6s. per Annum. He died December, 1555.

all classes. He was at the same time ready to relieve the poor, and treated those below him in station, with constant dignity and kindness. At his death he bequeathed to his family ample estates,¹ and an unsullied reputation.

This gentleman, whom Hakluyt tells us was one of the original Assistants of the Muscovy Company, was, as I believe, the ancestor of Henry Hudson, who fifty-four years afterwards discovered Delaware Bay and Hudson's River.

Henry Hudson, the elder, left three daughters, one of them, Abigail, married Charles Dixwell, Esq., of Coton, in the County of Warwick, and had issue.

1. William, who inherited Coton, and was the ancestor of the Dixwells of Coton Hall, extinct Baronets.
2. Edward, named after his mother's brother, Ed. Hudson.
3. Humphrey.
4. *Basil*.

¹ Burgon says of W. Read, Esquire, who died ten years earlier than Mr. Hudson; "his clear annual income, derived from his own and his wife's estates in Suffolk, amounted to £138, 15s. 4d., of which £67 per annum descended to his eldest son. *Such was the income of a gentleman considered wealthy in the reign of Henry VIII, and such the expectations of his heir.*"

²Vide Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetage*, page 161

5. Barbara, named after her grandmother Barbara Hudson.

Henry Hudson, the elder, left eight sons. Three of these, viz: *Thomas Hudson*, *John Hudson*, and *Edward or Edmund Hudson*, are mentioned in this order in the *Calendar of Proceedings in the Court of Chancery, Reign of Elizabeth*.¹ From the same source I learn that Thomas Hudson, Esq., conveyed to his brother John Hudson, ‘for certain purposes,’ the manors of Newing Belhouse, Newington Bartram, Newington Fee, Damyott, Brensett, Sachfilde, and Stepiars, in the County of Kent.² This John Hudson dying without issue, bequeathed his estates to his sister’s youngest son, Sir Basil Dixwell, Bart.,³ who transplanted himself accordingly from the County of Warwick, to *Terlingham* in Kent County, where he continued until the year 1622, when he removed to Broome, in the same county, also a manor of his, on which he had recently erected a handsome mansion-house. He served the office of Sheriff in the 2d year of Charles I, and was created a Baronet by that monarch, 18th February, 1627. He died unmarried

¹ *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., II, 24.

² *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., II, 62.

³ *Magna Britannia*, II, 1178, 1183, 1184, 1185.

in 1641, when the Baronetcy became extinct, and his estates devolved, under his will, upon his nephew, Mark Dixwell, Esq., son of his brother William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of M. Read, and sister of W. Read Esq., of Folkestone, and was the ancestor of Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart., the present possessor of the ancient estates of John Hudson, the male line of the Dixwells having failed.¹

I have no definite information relative to *Edward Hudson*, the third son of Henry Hudson, the elder. George, Edmund, John,² and William Hudson,³ infants, were parties, however, in a suit in the

¹ Burke's *Ex. and Dormant Baronetage*, pp. 161, 162.

² A. D. 1575, June 3. We find a *John Hudson* in the list of Masters of Art, under the above Date: "*John Hudson of Broadgates Hall*. He was afterwards vicar of *Patcham* in *Sussex* and Author of *A Sermon At Pauls Cross* on Hebrews, 10: 19, *Lond.* 1584, Oct., and perhaps of other matters." Wood's *Athenæ Ox.*, vol. I, p. 738.

³ The following extracts suggest the idea, that the William Hudson mentioned therein, is identical with the William Hudson in the text, and that he, and his son Christopher Hudson, also mentioned therein, were members in a later generation of the same family to which Christopher Hudson, of the Muscovy Company's Service, belonged.

"A Treatise on the Court of the Star Chamber, written by Wm. Hudson, of Greys Inn, Esq., and containing a very full and elaborate account of that tribunal." "This Treatise or survey of the Court of Star Chamber, will, upon reading, appear to be wrote in a masterly yet humble manner, and by im-

reign of Queen Elizabeth, to enforce the payment of legacies out of the estate of their father *Edmund Hudson*. It may be that this *Edmund Hudson* and *Edward Hudson* were one and the same person. This seems the more probable, as the residence of the *Edmund Hudson* above mentioned was in Essex, the county adjoining Kent, in which John Hudson lived.¹

We have seen that *Thomas Hudson*, the eldest son of Henry Hudson, Senior, conveyed to *John Hudson* certain lands, and that he afterwards

partial readers to be approved. It was begun in the reign of K. Ja. 1st and finished early in the reign of Ch. 1st." *Lansdowne Catal.* It appears from the work itself that Hudson was a barrister and a practitioner in the Court of the Star Chamber. Some further account of him may be seen in a note by Humphrey Wanley, which follows the above by Mr. Umfreville, and also in the *Harl. Catal. of MS.*, No. 1226." *Catalogue of the Lansdowne MS.*, in the *British Museum*, No. 622. Wm. Hudson is mentioned in No. 639, fol. *Lansdowne Catal.*, as "one of the Registers of the Court of Star Chamber."

"This Treatise was compiled by Wm. Hudson of Graies Inne, Esq., one very much practized and of great experience in the Star Chamber; and my very affectionate friend. His sonne and heyr Mr. Christopher Hudson (whose handwryting this booke is), after his father's death gave it to mee 19th Decembris, 1635. Jo. Finch." *Catal. Harleian MSS.*, No. 1226, vol. I, p. 612.

¹ *Proc. Ct. Ch.*, Rg. Eliz., II, 84. These calendars, unfortunately, do not indicate the dates of the papers preserved in them, except in a few instances.

brought suit against this younger, brother in the Court of Chancery, to settle sundry accounts growing out of the transfer.¹ This is all we positively know in reference to the matter. It is possible that *Thomas Hudson* had become embarrassed, and had been obliged to give up his share of the inheritance to his brother,² with the stipulation that he should receive a certain sum, equal to the excess in value of the property over the amount of his indebtedness, and that it was to recover this money that the suit was brought.

However this may have been, *Thomas Hudson* seems to have been living nine or ten years after his father's death, at Mortlake in Surry, in those days a pretty little village, on the Thames, six and a half miles from London, between Putney and Richmond. The following entry occurs in the Private Diary of Doctor John Dee, the famous

¹ *Proc. Ct. of Chanc.*, Rg. of Eliz., vol. II, page 62.

² The Privileges of *Gavel-kind* belonging to the County of Kent are threefold: 1. The Heirs male share all the lands alike. 2. The Heir is at 15 at full age to sell or alienate. 3. Though the Father were convicted of Treason, yet the Son enjoys his Inheritance: Hence that Proverb, *the Father to the Bough, and the Son to the Plough*. These three Privileges, granted and confirmed to them by *William the Conqueror*, are denominated *Gavel kind*. *Present State of Great Britain*, by *John Chamberlayne, Esq.* London, 1748, p. 15.

philosopher of Mortlake, with whom Thomas Hudson was on intimate terms: "[A. D. 1564] June 20th, Mr. Hudson, hora septima ante meridiem."¹ This was one of the many notes of nativities made by the Doctor, who was constantly consulted professionally as an astrologer.

Doctor Dee was a man of great learning and extensive acquirements. He was particularly distinguished for his geographical attainments, while his opinion, on a variety of matters of state, was frequently asked by Sir Francis Walsingham, and Queen Elizabeth herself. He was the cherished friend and adviser of the principal navigators of his time, and was actively engaged in promoting the objects of the *Muscovy* or *Russia Company*.² Indeed Hakluyt has preserved "Certaine briefe addresses given by Master Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, to bee observed in their North-easterne discouerie, Anno 1580;"³ and from his own Diary we learn that on the 17th of May, 1580, he was at the Company's House in London, on

¹ *Private Diary of Doctor John Dee*, Camden Soc. Pub., 1842, page 2.

² For a Notice of Doctor Dee see Appendix.

³ Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 437.

business concerning the Cathay voyage.¹ Two weeks later Pet and Jackman sailed from Harwich, in the Company's employ, in search of a north-east passage to China or Cathay, taking with them a Chart which the Doctor had constructed for their guidance.²

Frequent reference is made by the Doctor to certain pecuniary transactions between himself and *Thomas Hudson*. March 12th, 1581, he records: "All reckonings payd to Mr. Hudson, £11, 17s."³ After his return from the continent he has the following: "June 28th, [1590] I payd Mr. Hudson for all his corn, and also for the wood tyll May, receyved synce I cam home."⁴ March 21st, 1591, he says: "Remember that on Passion Sunday, being the 21st of March, by our accownt, all things was payd for to *Mr. Thomas Hudson* for wood and corne, abowt £14, at his howse when he was syk of the strangury."⁵ In this connection it is interesting to note the entry for February

¹ [1580] "May 17th, at the Moscovy howse for the Cathay voyage." *Priv. Diary*, page 7, Cam. Soc. Pub., 1842.

² Side Note. Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 437.

³ *Private Diary*, p. 11.

⁴ *Priv. Diary*, p. 34.

⁵ *Priv. Diary*, p. 38.

21st, 1593, which refers to the greatest English mathematician of that day: "I borrowed £10. of Mr. Thomas Digges¹ for one whole yere."²

The extracts from the Diary which are given in the appendix,³ reveal the character and standing of the men with whom *Thomas Hudson* and Dr. Dee were daily in the habit of associating. When taken in connection with the ensuing quotations, they clearly indicate that the friendship existing between these two, had its origin in the interest which they mutually felt in the Muscovy or Russia Company. The curious document from which they are taken, repeatedly mentions Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "Mr. Secretary" Sir Francis Walsingham, Mr. Hakluyt, Mr. Adrian Gilbert, Captain John Davis, Richard Candish, and his famous nephew Thomas Candish, Sir George Peckham, Sir John Gilbert, and Sir Walter Raleigh, as members of a circle, wherein *Thomas Hudson* figured prominently. We are allowed to look in upon the great men of England, and the next paragraph even affords us a familiar view of good Queen

¹ He was father of Sir Dudley Digges who was a principal promoter of Henry Hudson's last voyage in 1610-11.

² *Priv. Diary*, p. 43.

³ See Appendix.

Bess herself: "Feby. 11th, [1583] the Quene lying at Richmond went to Mr. Secretary Walsingham to dynner; she coming by my dore¹ graciously called me to her, and *so I went by her horse side as far as where Mr. Hudson dwelt.*"²

I have reserved perhaps the most interesting memoranda, so far as our immediate subject is concerned, until now.

"Jan. 23d [1583], the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Walsingham, cam to my howse, where by good lok he found Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and so talk was begonne of *North-west* Straights discovery. The Bishop of St. Davyd's (Mr. Middleton) cam to visit me with Mr. Thomas Herbert. The Lord

¹ "Dr. Dee dwelt in a house neere the water side, a little westward from the church at Mortlake. The buildings which Sir Francis Crane erected for working tapestry hangings, and are still (1673) employed to that use, were built upon the ground whereon Dr. Dee's laboratory and other roomes for that use were built. Upon the west side is a square Court, and the next is the howse wherein Dr. Dee dwelt, now inhabited by one Mr. Selbury, and further west his garden. * * * * * Dr. Dee was wel beloved and respected of all persons of quality thereabouts, who very often invited him to their houses or came to his." *MS. Ashm.*, 1788, fol. 149. in *Cam. Soc. Pub.*, 1842. Notes, by J. O. Hallowell.

The two extracts might enable one on the spot acquainted with the ancient landmarks, to identify Mr. Hudson's residence.

² *Private Diary*, pp. 18, 19.

Grey came to Mr. Secretary, and so they went unto Greenwich. Jan. 24th, I, Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis went by appointment to Mr. Secretary to Mr. Beale his howse, where onely we four were secret, and we made Mr. Secretary priuie of the N. W. passage, and all charts and rutters were agreed uppon in generall. March 6th, I, and Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davis did mete with *Mr. Alderman Burnes*, Mr. Townson, and Mr. Yong, and *Mr. Hudson*, about the N. W. voyage.”¹

We are here made acquainted with the origin of the famous voyages of John Davis, and singularly enough, in the light of subsequent events, discover *Thomas Hudson* consulting with that celebrated navigator in reference to a search for a North-west passage to China or Cathay. We shall hereafter recognize the influence of Davis’s subsequent explorations upon *Henry Hudson*, and learn that it was in attempting to find a passage to the westward and northward twenty-six years after the above project was entertained by his relative *Thomas Hudson*, that *Henry Hudson* made his discoveries of Delaware and New York.²

¹ *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 18, 19.

² Captain John Davis made his three well known voyages to the North-west in 1585, 1586, and 1587.

I have already referred to the fact that a Captain Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, in the Muscovy or Russia Company's employ, is frequently mentioned in a very interesting account of the 6th voyage set on foot by that Company 'into the parts of Persia and Media.' The report of the expedition as given by Hakluyt was "gathered out of sundrie letters written by *Christopher Burrough*, servant¹ to the saide companie, and sent to his Vncle Master *William Burrough*."²

It appears that Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talboys, and Peter Gerard, Agents and Factors of the above Corporation, sailed from

It was in the latter year that sailing across the mouth of what is now called Hudson's Strait he saw to his great admiration 'the sea falling downe into the gulfe with a mighty overfall and roaring, and with diuer circular motions like whirlpools, in such sort as forcible streams pass through the arches of bridges.' Henry Hudson as we shall see referred to this in his journal of his second voyage, as the "furious over-fall of Captain Davis."

¹ Hakluyt, vol. I, page 419, ed. of 1599.

² At that period, officers whom we now designate as Agents, Commissioners, etc., were often in a general way termed Servants. Sir Richard Clough, in his last will, calls Sir Thomas Gresham his 'Master' and styles himself 'servant.' In the same document Sir Richard mentions his own brother by the latter designation. Vide Burgon's *Life of Sir Thos. Gresham*, vol. I, page 236.

Gravesend on the 19th June, 1579, reached what is now Archangel the latter part of July, and proceeded from thence, sometimes by river, sometimes by land travel, to Astracan, a city near the mouth of the Volga, on the north-western shore of the Caspian sea; where they arrived on the 16th of October, and found 'in good order and readinesse' the ship commanded by '*Thomas Hudson*, of Limehouse,' which the Company had 'provided for the Persia voyage.' Having dined by invitation with the Chief Secretary of Duke Pheodor Micalouich, the Russian governor of Astracan, they were persuaded by him, in view of the near approach of the icy season and the unsettled condition of Media and Persia, to pass the winter at Astracan.

“The first day of May (1580), in the morning, having the shippe in readinesse to depart,” they “invited the Duke and the principall Secretary Vasili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chieftest about the Duke to a banquet aboard the ship, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was shot off all the ordinance of the ship, and about nine of the clocke at night the Same day they weyed anker, and departed with their ship from Astracan.” After

various mishaps and detentions, arising from the shoals in the Volga and the bars at its mouth, "they bare off into the" Caspian "Sea" on the 17th May. It is not necessary to rehearse the subsequent adventures of the party, from their departure in the ship under the command of Captain Thomas Hudson, until their return with him to Astracan in the month of December following. For the particulars of their interesting voyage to Beldih and Derbent, their sufferings from shipwreck, their narrow escapes, their miraculous preservation from starvation, I refer you to the pages of Hakluyt, taking occasion at the same time however, to call your particular attention to the courage, ability and coolness displayed by Captain Hudson at all times of peculiar danger. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that the safe return of the party was in a great measure owing to the gallant and skillful conduct of their leader. Having spent a second winter at Astracan, *Thomas Hudson* started from that city, with Wm. Turnbull, Matthew Talboys and others, in the month of March, 1581; and after nearly four months' journeying across Russia, reached the shores of the White Sea, and found in the 'rode of St. Nicholas,' almost ready to depart, certain Ships belonging to the Muscovy

Company. On the 26th of July, 1581, Thomas Hudson¹ sailed in the *Thomas Allen*, one of the Company's vessels, and reached England about the first of September.

There is little doubt that Henry Hudson, the elder, had a son named *Henry*. Henry Hudson is mentioned by Stow, as a citizen of London, in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-9. This was four or five years after the death of the elder Hudson; and the son would appear to have been, at that time, a man of influence and standing in the city. His name occurs in a list,² of a dozen responsible persons, of that date, who were appointed by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the nominal Keepers, or bondsmen, as we should style them, for William Aston, a citizen of note, and "free of the Company of Haberdashers." The same individual seems to have been plaintiff, in a suit in the Court of Chancery, against a certain Francis Ringsteed, concerning

¹ That Capt. Thomas Hudson, and Thomas Hudson, the friend of Dr. John Dee, were not the same, I am led to believe, from the entry in the Doctor's *Diary*, of the 12th March, 1581, viz.: "All reckonings payd to Mr. Hudson, £11, 17s." Which leads one to think that that Mr. Hudson was then at home.

² Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 126.

some personal matters.² As late as the year 1572 I find that Henry Hudson was one of the defendants in a suit brought in the same court, by Edward Stanhope, who claimed, by purchase, the "farm in Gouxhill called the Abbey Garth, parcel of the monastery of Thorton," in Lincolnshire.³ This is suggestive, when we recall the fact that Burke, speaks of the elder Henry Hudson, as "of Stourton, in Lincolnshire."

We have seen that the Muscovy Company was organized for the purpose of promoting the discovery of a short passage to India by the north, and that under the guidance of Richard Chancellor it early succeeded in gaining the good will of the Emperor of Russia. Having thus obtained a foothold in that country, the Company sent thither its Agents and Ships to develop a trade which in a few years grew to be immensely valuable. Before referring to another Hudson who figured prominently in this portion of the Company's enterprise, let me distinctly state that the original idea of a northern passage to China was never

² *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg., Eliz. vol. II, p. 29. The name is here spelled Henry Hodgeson.

³ *Cal. Proc. Court of Chanc.*, Rg. Eliz., vol. III, p. 45. The name here assumes the form of Henry Hogeson.

abandoned. Stephen Burrough was sent to prosecute the search in 1556, but returned after having discovered 'Image Cape,' the north-eastern extremity of the island of Vaigats in $70^{\circ} 29' N.$ latitude, and the entrance into the White Sea, called after him Burrough's Strait. For several years indeed, after this voyage, the Muscovy Company turned its attention principally to the trade with the interior of the continent both in Europe and in Asia. The expedition under Captain Thomas Hudson, of Limehouse, just described, is an example of this. The instructions, however, given on the occasion of the fitting out of two expeditions at intervals of twelve years, the first under James Bassendine, James Woodcocke and Richard Browne in 1568,¹ and the second already mentioned under Pet and Jackman in 1580,² are sufficient proofs that no opportunities nor means were neglected to obtain information, with a view to the eventual realization of the scheme which was the principal object in the original formation of the Company.

¹ Hakluyt, vol. I, pp. 382, 383, ed. 1599. The date is here misprinted 1588. See also Dr. Beke's learned *Introduction to De. Veer's Voyages*. Hak. Soc. Pub., 1853.

² Hakluyt, vol. I, pp. 433, 434, 435.

One other important member of the Hudson family, himself a zealous upholder of the interests of the Muscovy Company, remains to be noticed, before we pass to the consideration of the character and purposes of Henry Hudson, the discoverer.

The earliest allusion to *Christopher Hudson* is to be found in "the Letter of M. George Killingworth, the Companies first *Agent* in Muscouie, touching their enterteinment in their second voyage, Anno 1555. the 27, of November in Mosco." M. Killingworth writes from that city as follows: "And the 28, day of September (1555) we did determine with ourselues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, *Christopher Hudson*, John Segewicke, Richard Johnson, and Richard Judde, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chancelor,¹ Henry Lane, Edward Prise, Robert Best, and I should goe to Mosco."² In closing the letter he says: "And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was never so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yere. But as yesternight wee received a letter from *Christopher Hudson* from a

¹ The word *Master* was then used, instead of the more modern *Mister*. The letter M. was the usual abbreviation.

² Hakluyt, vol. II, p. 263.

Citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceive him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did overthrow and the butte of hollocke¹ was lost, which made us all very sory.”²

There exists, however, an epistle written by Christopher Hudson in 1601, which gives a glimpse of his whereabouts the year previous to George Killingworth’s letter, so that we may commence our acquaintance with him from the date which he himself names:—“in the yeare 1554, I came from Dansyck by land, through all the maryne townes [of Germany].”³

In 1559 he would seem to have been residing at Moscow. The following paragraph occurs in a communication addressed from that city on the 18th of September, 1559, by “Master Anthonie Jenkinson, vpon his retorne from Boghar, to the Worshipful Master Henrie Lane, Agent for the Moscouie Companie, resident in Vologda:” * * *

¹ A sort of sweet wine.

² Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 265.

³ *Egerton Papers*, Camden Society Publications, London, 1840, p. 338.

“As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudson’s letters, for that I am but newly arrived.”¹

Hakluyt has preserved also: “A letter of the Moscouie Companie to their Agents in Russia, Master Henrie Lane, Christopher Hudson, and Thomas Glouer,² sent in their seventh voyage to Saint Nicholas with three ships, the Swallowe, the Philip and Marie, and the Jesus, the fifth of May, 1560.” As it speaks of the internal affairs of the great corporation, and furnishes several facts about Christopher Hudson, no apology is offered for introducing the following quotations: “We hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Jenkinson.”³

¹ Hakluyt, vol. I, page 305.

² Thomas Glover went to Russia as a servant of the Muscovy Company; but subsequently joined with others in carrying on an independent trade. As early as 1567, Queen Elizabeth complained to the Czar of this conduct of Glover and his associates, and that they had married Polish wives. Glover was banished from Russia in 1573. See *Hamel*, pp. 186 to 221; Bond’s *Notes to Horsey’s Travels*.

³ Anthony Jenkinson was afterwards Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia from 1571 to 1572. Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 402. A very interesting résumé of his labors as the agent of the company, and as a sort of envoy to the Czar previous to the year 1565, is to be found in Mr. Edwin A. Bond’s *Introduction to the Hak. Soc. Pub. for 1856*, pp. iii, iv, v.

We perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Mart towne as the same has gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you write that you wil come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly have you to remaine there untill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our servants there; who have not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey and wares as you have had. Nevertheless if you will needs come away, we have no doubt, but that you will have good order with our servants there, namely with *Christopher Hodson*,¹ and Thomas Glover, whom we appoint to remaine there as agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will use themselves so discreetly and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the worship and benefite of this Company. And as we have a good hope in them that they will be

Mr. Bond, in his notes to *The Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey*, says: "It is believed that Anthony Jenkinson was, in the year 1567, intrusted by Ivan with secret orders to negotiate a marriage with Queen Elizabeth. See *Hamel*, p. 177. *et seq.*"

¹ *Chris. Hodson* and Thos. Glover, *appointed Agents*, 1560. This is Hakluyt's side note, vol. I, page 307.

carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: So have we no lesse hope in all the reste of our servants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true every one in his roome and place for the benefite and profite of the Company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you should send him home in our shipps: who shall find such small favour and friendships during the time that he hath to serve, as by his disobedience and evil service hee hath deserved. *And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he he hath good cause, considering the death of his futher and mother, yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife, were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he wil remain in the roome, which we have appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his service and*

¹ Sir George Barne or Barns. John Barns was one of the crew in Henry Hudson's second voyage forty-eight years later, viz: in 1608. *Vide* Purchas, III, 574.

paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were living. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neverthelesse you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good.”¹

We have here another illustration of the different modes of spelling the same name in the same document. The individual who is addressed as Christopher Hudson in the heading of the letter, is designated in the body of the same communication, and in Hakluyt’s marginal note, as Christopher Hodson. Our researches will presently acquaint us with still further changes and irregularities in the spelling of this identical man’s name.

It would appear from the citations just given that Christopher Hudson, who had now been for several years confidentially employed in Russia, was appointed in 1560 an agent and representative of the Muscovy Company.² The death of his

¹ Hakluyt I, page 305.

² For an account of his duties, powers and authority, see the ‘commission’ given by the Muscovy Company to their agents resident in Russia. Hakluyt I, 249.

father and mother is mentioned as the cause of his having written for leave to return home to England, but he is reminded that "Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife, were his special friends in his absence," and he is assured that his services will be as favorably regarded as though his friends were still living. I was at first inclined to believe that he was the son of Henry Hudson, the founder of the Muscovy Company, who died five years previous to the date of this letter, but as the death of his mother is also spoken of, it could not be the case, since Henry Hudson's wife Barbara, survived her first husband, and was living in 1568 as the widow of Sir Richard Champion.

It is probable that Christopher Hudson was the son of Sir Christopher Hudson, who was himself the son, or more probably the brother of the first Henry Hudson. My reasons for this supposition will be apparent from what follows.

In the Calendars of Chancery Proceedings, Reign of Elizabeth, Volume Second, page fifty-four, it is recorded that Christopher Hoddesdon, Esq^{re}, was plaintiff in a suit to recover lands in the Manor of Leighton alias Leighton Bussard held by him from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, Bedford county. In the third volume, page two hundred

and sixty-seven of the same work, Sir Christopher Hoddesdon, Knight, and Christopher Hoddesdon are defendants in a suit brought by Sir Henry Wallop and Dame Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Robert Corbett, Esq^{re}, deceased, to establish the claim by descent of the plaintiff Elizabeth to "two messuages and divers lands holden of the manor of Loughton Bussarde alias Bude serte (Beau desert), Bedford county, late the estate of the said Robert Corbett, of which manor the dean and canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, are seized in fee, and the defendants Hoddesdon claim under a lease from them."

I have doubtless prepared you against surprise, yet I must own that I was myself astonished to find Christopher *Hudson*, introduced as 'Christopher *Hodderle*, Defendant,' in a suit brought by Adulph Carie Esq., "to compel admission to sundry messuages and lands in the town and fields of Loughton Bussard, late the estate of Robert Corbett Esq., and which upon his death descended to Anne the wife of the Plaintiff, and Elizabeth the wife of Henry Wallop, Esq^{re}, his daughters and coheirs; the defendant being lord of the said Manor."¹ This however merely furnishes additional proof of

¹ Calendars of *Proceedings in Chancery*, Reign of Elizabeth, vol. I, p. 161.

the infinite difficulty experienced in tracing individuals whose identity is so often hidden under the disguise of a misspelled name.¹

From the manner in which they are associated in at least one suit, it would be natural to suppose that Sir Christopher Hudson, of Leighton Bussarde, and Christopher Hudson, Agent of the Muscovy Company, were father and son. There are also grounds for believing that they both belonged to the family of Henry Hudson, the elder. For we are told by R. Sims, in his Index to *Heraldic Visitations*, that the Hudsons of Leighton Bussarde, Bedfordshire, were from Herts, and that the Hud-

¹ I have preserved the extract which follows without any more definite thought than that, perhaps, the apparent relationship between the fact in the text and the statement given below, may contribute a ray of light on the subject, and enable some one to explore and explain satisfactorily the connection, if any there be, between the two :—

“In the Deanery of Windsore succeeded Dr. Giles Tomson a little before Qu. Elizabeth’s death, and in the mastership of the Hospital of *St. Cross* (which was designed by the Queen for *George Brook*, brother to Henry Lord Cobham), *K. James* at his first entry into England, gave it to *Mr. James Hudson*, who had been his Agent there during part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. But *Hudson* being a Lay-man therefore not found capable of it, Sir Tho. Lake, for some reward given to him to quit his interest therein, prevailed with the King to give it to his brother Arthur Lake.” Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, I, 735, edition of 1691.

sons of London, and of Kent, were also from Herts. I am of the opinion that the spot where the several branches originated, and from whence they derived the family name, was Hoddesdon, a town in Hertfordshire, $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-east from Hertford, and 17 miles north by east from London, on the road to Ware. My theory is strengthened by the fact that the name of this place is supposed to have been derived from its having been the residence of Hodo, or Oddo, a Danish chief, or from a tumulus or barrow, raised here to his memory.¹ This view is also confirmed by Camden's derivation of Hodson from Hod or Oddo, to which I have already called your attention.² The Thatched House at Hoddesdon is immortalized by "honest Izaak" in the opening dialogue of his "Complete Angler."³

¹ Lewis's *Topog. Dict. of England*, II, London, 1831.

² Camden's *Remaines*, ed. 1637, p. 133.

³ *Piscator*.—"I have stretched my legs up Totnam-hill to overtake you, hoping your business may occasion you towards Ware, whither I am going this fine fresh May morning." *Venator*.—"Sir, I shall almost answer your hopes; for my purpose is to drink my morning's draught at the Thatched-house in Hodsden." The town is supplied with water from a conduit in the market place, erected by Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, from whose life the following paragraph is taken: "From thence they went 3 miles farther to Hodsden, the place of Mr. Raw-

The references of Mr. Sims to the Pedigrees and Arms of the several families of Hudson, to be found in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum¹ are, in this connection, very valuable, and the manuscripts themselves would, I have no doubt, throw a flood of light upon the whole question under discussion.

Additional proof of the family connection existing between the Hudsons of Leighton Bussarde, Bedford county, and the family of Henry Hudson, founder of the Muscovy Company, is to be drawn from the fact that John Hudson, son of the latter person, whom we have already seen was settled in Kent county, was also the owner of leased lands in the manor of Melchborne, in the Parish of Ravensden, in the same county of Bedford.²

It is a remarkable fact that George Barne, alderman of London, was also lord of the above manor of Leighton Bussarde, Bedfordshire, in

don's aboode, a faire market towne which formerly did belong to Henry Bouchier, Earle of Essex, who had nere unto itt a faire howse." Jesse's *Izaak Walton*, Bohn, London, 1856, pp. 43, 44. *Life of Marmaduke Rawdon*, of York, with a valuable introduction and notes by Robert Davies Esq., F. S. A. Camden Soc. Pub., London, 1863.

¹ Sims's Index to *Heraldic Visitations*, London, 1849.

² *Cal. Proc. Ct. Chanc.*, Rg. of Eliz., vol. II, p. 38.

1580.¹ This is the more noticeable, as he was the son of the Sir George Barnes and the lady his wife, who were mentioned in the Muscovy Company's Letter as having been the warm friends of Christopher Hudson, and it would seem to indicate a family relationship.²

This family of Barn, Barne, Barns or Barnes, for the name is spelled in each of these several ways, was as thoroughly identified with the Muscovy Company as was the Hudson family.

The Sir George Barnes mentioned by Hakluyt, was the son of George Barne or Barnes, citizen and haberdasher of London. He was sheriff of London in 1545-6, and lord mayor 1552-3.³ "He dwelled in Bartholomew Lane, where Sir William Capell once dwelled, and now [1605] Mr. Derham.

¹ *Cal. Chanc. Proc.*, Rg. of Eliz., I, p. 5. The present town of Leighton Buzzard is 42 miles N. W. from London.

² Ex. Hoddeson, Esq., is mentioned by Fuller as having been resident at Westning, county of Bedfordshire, and sheriff of that county in the 33d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1591.

Ex. is probably an abbreviation for Christopher. This would suggest the belief that it was the same Christopher Hudson who was so prominently connected with the Muscovy Company.

³ Stow's *English Chron.*, Abridged ed., 1618, p. 255.

His Arms, Argent, on a chevron wavy azure, between three barnacles proper, three trefoils slipped of the first, were taken downe after his death by his sonne Sir George Barnes, and these sett upp in stede thereof; Azure, three leopards' heads argent."¹ He was one of the four *Consuls* mentioned in the charter given by Queen Mary to the Muscovy Company in 1555, and was one of the most influential and active members of that association.² Stow³ relates this incident in his life: "King Edward kept his Christmas with open household at Greenewich, George Ferrers, Gentleman being Lord of merry disports all the VII daies, who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himselfe, that the King had great delight in his pastimes.

"On the fourth of January [1553] the saide Lord of merry disports came by water to the Tower, where hee entred, and after rode through Tower streets, where he was met and received by Sergeant Vaus, Lord of misrule to master John

¹ Stow, Mr. Nichols's *Notes to Machyn's Diary*, Camden Soc. Pub., 1848, p. 363.

² Hakluyt, vol. I, p. 268.

³ The Abridgment of the *English Chronicle*, First collected By Mr. John Stow. By Edmond Howes, London, 1618, p. 257.

Mainard one of the shrives of London, and so conducted thorow the Cittie with a great company of young Lords and Gentlemen, to the house of Sir George Barne Lord Maior, where hee with the chiefe of his company dined, and at his departure the Lord Maior gave him a standing cuppe with a cover, silver and gilt, of the value 5. pound; the residue of his Gentlemen and servants dined at other Aldermens houses, and with the shrives."

In this same year, 1553, Sir George Barnes distinguished himself very prominently among those who succeeded in inducing Edward VI to donate the palace of Bridewell to the city of London for charitable purposes. The ceremonies attending this event were quaintly but faithfully commemorated by Hans Holbein, who was present and beheld the scene from a favorable position.

The following account of the picture which he painted in honor of this particular occasion, is taken from the Reverend James Granger's *Biographical History of England*,¹ which was published in London in 1769, and dedicated to the Hon. Horace Walpole: "Edward VI, giving the charter of Bridewell to the Lord Mayor of London, Sir

¹ Vol. I, pp. 91, 92.

George Barnes, Knt., &c. On the right of the throne is the Lord Chancellor, Tho. Goodrick Bishop of Ely, standing; on the left is Sir Robert Bowes, Master of the Rolls. The portrait with the collar of the Garter, is William Earl of Pembroke;¹ behind whom is *Hans Holbein* the painter. — The two persons kneeling behind the lord mayor, are William Gerrard and John Maynard, Aldermen, and then Sheriffs of London: their names are omitted in the inscription of the print. Bridewell was formerly the palace of King John. It was rebuilt by Henry VIII in 1552. This historical piece which is in a large sheet, was engraved by Vertue, after the original by Holbein, in the Hall of Bridewell.”²

¹ Named in Muscovy Company's Charter.

² Bryan in his *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, speaks of a very fine engraving of Sir George Barnes, Lord Mayor of London, by Charles Hall, an English artist, born about the year 1720, who also engraved a portrait of the Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, above referred to. Bryan says, Hall “was brought up a letter engraver, but he soon aspired to a more respectable branch of the art; and he was much employed in engraving portraits, coins, medals, and other antiquities. His portraits are his best works; and independent of the merit of their execution, they are faithful representations of the originals from which they are taken.” Hall died in London, in 1783.

A very fine copy, reduced in size, from Vertue's print, may be seen in Dr. Trollope's *History of Christ's Hospital*. The same work contains "the noble eulogium bestowed by good Bishop Ridley
 * * * upon Sir George Barnes * * *
 extracted from the farewell letter, addressed by that pious prelate to his relations and friends, and all his faithful countrymen, shortly before his martyrdom."¹

"And thou, O Sir *George Barnes*, thou wast, in thy yeare, not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun, but also thou didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing, and a perfect spectacle of true charity and Godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a *House of Occupations*, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the City; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the Hospitals, when they had come to a certain Age

¹ Trollope's *Hist. of Christ's Hospital*. Wm. Pickering, London, 1834, pp. 45, 46, 47.

and Strength; and, also, all those which, in the Hospitals aforesaid, haue been cured of their diseases. And to haue brought this to pass, thou obtainedst (not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and thy brethren) of that Godly King, *Edward*, that Christian and peerless Prince, the princely palace of *Bridewel*, and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition it is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the Time.”¹

Sir George Barnes died on the 8th of February, 1558,² and was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Little.³ He “gave a Windmill in Finsbury felde to the Haberdashers of London, the profits rising thereof to bee distributed to the

¹ Strype's *Stow*, p. 158. Quoted by Dr. Trollope.

² Machyn's *Diary*, p. 166.

³ “*St. Bartholomew-Exchange or Little*; situate at the end of *Bartholomew's Lane*. * * * Here is no Table of Benefactors, nor Monuments since the Fire, which consumed and destroyed all that were in it before; yet because *Mr. Stow* hath preserved the Memory of them, we shall recite them for others Example, viz. * * * Sir George Barne, Mayor in 1552. *Mag. Brit.*, vol. III, p. 102.

pore almes people of the same company.”¹ Machyn has preserved this account of his funeral:

“The xxiiii day of Feybruary [1558] was [buried] Ser George Barnes knyght, late ma [yor] and haberdasser, and the cheyff marchand of Muskovea, and had the penon of Mu[scovy] armes borne at ys berehyng; and the [mayor] and the swerd bear had blake gownes and a in blake, and a iijxx pore men in blake [gowns] and had a standard and v penons of armes, and cote and elmett, sword, targett, and a goodly hers of ‘wax’ and ij grett branchys of whytt wax, iiij dosen torchys, and viij dosen pensels, and ix dosen skochyons; and doctur Chadsay mad the sermon on the morow, and after a grett dener. Master Clarens hus and Lanckostur the haroldes (conducted the ceremony).”²

I have been unable to ascertain the maiden name of Sir George Barnes’s widow. From the intimacy existing between the families, and the fact that her son was afterwards the possessor of the manor of Leighton Bussarde, Bedfordshire, of which Sir Christopher Hudson had previously been the lord,

¹ *Stow*, *Abrd. Ed.*, 1618, p. 255.

² *Machyn’s Diary*, page 166.

it is highly probable that she was a Hudson. Burke merely says that "by his wife *Alice*," Sir George Barne the elder, "had, with two daus. Anne, m. 1st to Alexander Carlyell Esq^{re}, and 2ndly to Sir Francis Walsingham; and Elizabeth, m. to Sir John Rivers Knt, two sons, George, his heir, and John, who left two daughters, his coheirs."¹ * *

The letter of the Muscovy Company to Christopher Hudson which refers to lady Barnes, was written in May, 1560, and she had died in June of the previous year as will be seen below.

"The ij day of Juin was bered at lytyll Sant Baythelmewes my lade Barnes, the wyff of Ser George Barnes, Knyght, and late mare of London; and she gayff to pore men and powre women good rosett gownes a (*blank*), and she gayffe to the powre men and women of Calles (*blank*) a pesse, and she gayff a C. blake gownes and cottres; and then she had penon of armes, and master Clarenshux kyng of armes, and ther was a XX clarkes syngyng afor her to the chyrche with blake and armes; and after master Horne mad a sermon, and after the clarkes song *Te Deum laudamus* in Englys, and after bered with a songe, and a-for songe the Englys

¹ Burke's *Dict. Landed Gentry*, vol. I, p. 55, London, 1848.

pressessyon, and after to the place to dener; Ser William Garrett¹ cheyff morner, and master Altham and Master Chamburlayn,² and her sunes and doythurs; ther was a noble dener.”³

Sir George Barnes 2d was also free of the Haberdashers Company, and was Lord Mayor in 1586-7. “He dwelled in Lombard Strete, over against the George, in the house which was Sir William Chesters, and is buried in St. Edmund’s church hard by.”⁴ He bore the coat of leopard’s heads quartered with Argent, a chevron azure between three blackbirds.⁵ Like his father he was an exceedingly active member of the Muscovy Company. We have seen in another place that he was one of the leaders of

¹ Sir William Garrard, haberdasher, Lord Mayor, 1555.

² Alderman Richard Chamberlain, chosen Sheriff in 1562.

“Rychard Chamberlen, ironmonger, alderman and late shreve of London, dyed on Tuesday the sixth of November, 1566, in A° 9° Elizabeth Regine, at his howse in the Parish of St. Olyffe, in the Old Jewry, and was beryed on Monday, 25 November, in the Parish church there:” for an act of his wife and children, vide note p. 391, *Machyn’s Diary*.

³ *Machyn’s Diary*, pp. 199, 200.

⁴ “*Church of St. Edmund the King*” was burned down in 1666, and rebuilt in 1690. “It formerly contained,” says Mr. Stow, “a monument to Sir George Barne (2d), Lord Mayor of London in 1586.” *Mag. Brit.*, vol. III, p. 113.

⁵ Vide Mr. Nichol’s note *Machyn’s Diary*, p. 363.

this corporation, who were mentioned by Doctor John Dee, as being present March 6th, 1583, at the important consultation about the North-west passage, which resulted in the remarkable voyages of John Davis, the forerunners of Henry Hudson's explorations.

Sir Jerome Horsey in his *Travels in Russia*, frequently refers to Sir George Barnes 2d, and his brother-in-law Sir Francis Walsingham, as 'my good frends.'¹ On his arrival in England in 1585, he writes:² "I was waell howsed in London, wael provided and atended one, much respected, feasted and enterteyned by the *Company of Muscovia*, Sir Rowland Heyward, Sir *George Barns*, Mr. customer Smythe, and of many other aldermen and grave merchants."³

Before his departure he says, "the *company tradinge* [to] *Muscovia* gave me good enterteynment

¹ *Horsey's Travels*, p. 214.

² Bond's Introduction, *Horsey's Travels*, p. cxxix.

³ Horsey was of an ancient Dorsetshire family. He was a nephew of George Horsey, of Digswell, in Hertfordshire, and of Sir Edward Horsey, who was a man of influence and distinction, and for some time held the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight. Jerome Horsey went out to Russia in the year 1573, as an apprentice or clerk, in the employ of the Russia Company. Of account of his talents and great familiarity with

and presents : provided by her Majesty's order ;
 * * * with which and her Majesty's dispatch
 commanded me to be sworn Esquire of her body,
 gave me her pictur, and her hand to kiss." ¹

Sir George Barnes 2d married Anne, daughter of the Sir William Garrard, who figures in Holbein's picture, and who was made Lord Mayor of London in 1555, and, in the same year one of the four *Consuls* of the Muscovy Company. Sir George died in 1592, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir William Barne, Brt., of Woolwich, Co. Kent, who was the cotemporary of Henry Hudson, the discoverer, and married Anne, daughter of his grace Doctor Edward Sandys, Archbishop of York, and had six sons and a daughter.

I have given a somewhat detailed account of this family, because it was apparently connected with the Hudsons, and like them from the very

the Russian language, he was selected by the Czar as his messenger to Queen Elizabeth in 1580. "On arriving at the English court with the Czar's letters, he had the advantage of being introduced to the Queen by his kinsman, Sir Edward Horsey, and was countenanced by Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, through whose assistance he obtained access three or four several times to the Queen, and was intrusted with her letters to the Czar, on his return to Russia."

¹ Sir Jerome Horsey's *Travels*, Hak. Soc. Pub. 1856, p. 193.

commencement was largely interested in the Muscovy Company.

Several of its members were likewise concerned in the settlement of Virginia, and John Barnes accompanied our Henry Hudson, in his second voyage to the north, in the employ of the Muscovy Company.¹

“The present representative of the family,” says Burke, “is Frederick Barne, Esq., of Sotterly and Dunwich, County Suffolk, late M. P. for Dunwich, and Captain in the 12th Lancers, married Feb., 1834, Mary-Anne-Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Sir John Courtenay Honynood, Bart., and has issue, Frederick St. John Newdigate, and Alice Mary Honynood.”²

It is possible, that there are papers or traditions in the Barne family, which would establish the relationship with the family of Hudson, and illustrate their mutual connection with the Muscovy Company.

¹ *Purchas* III, 574. London, 1625.

² Arms Quarterly: 1st and 4th, az., *three leopard's heads*, arg.; 2d and 3d, args., a chevron, az., between three Cornish choughs, sa.

Crest, sa., an Eagle displayed, sa. Motto—*Nec Timide, Nec Temere*. Burke's *Dict. Landed Gentry*, vol. I, pp. 55, 56. London, 1848.

Christopher Hudson, whom we know was appointed in 1560, to the responsible office of Agent of the Muscovy Company, seems to have discharged with singular fidelity and ability the arduous duties which devolved upon him. His advice was constantly asked, and he was apparently occasionally summoned to England on official business of importance. Having visited his native country in 1569, he was sent early in the winter of that year, with three ships laden with merchandize to the Narve, now Narva, a town situated eighty miles south-west from the present city of Saint Petersburg, which was not then in existence, having been founded by Peter the Great, as late as the 20th May, 1703.

Upon his arrival at the Narve, Christopher Hudson ascertained that the ships which he had brought with him would be not only insufficient to contain the goods that were soon expected from the interior of Russia, but would not accommodate even the wares that were already awaiting shipment. Having therefore landed their cargoes, he reloaded the ships and despatched them to England, with an earnest request to Sir William Garrard, Governor of the Muscovy Company, to forward immediately to the Narve, thirteen ships

suitably armed, to withstand the attacks of the Freebooters.

Accordingly the company sent out in the Spring of 1570, a fleet of thirteen sail, under the command of William Burrough, who took and destroyed five piratical vessels, and forwarded their crews as prisoners to the Emperor of Russia. Hakluyt in his *Preface to The Reader*, in his first volume, calls particular attention to "the memorable voyage of *M. Christopher Hodson*, and *M. William Burrough*, Anno 1570, to the Narue, wherein with merchants Ships onely, they tooke five Strong and warrelike Ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the Sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete."

To one unacquainted with Hakluyt's somewhat obscure style, it would appear from the foregoing that Christopher Hudson accompanied William Burrough on this occasion. That such was not the case may be readily seen by the following "Copy of a Letter sent to the Emperour of Moscouie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570."

"Most Mightie Emperour, &c., Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last winter sent hither to

the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it *Christopher Hodsdon*, one of the said fellowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and untill such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelve or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote unto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this Spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their coming hither wee found the freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gave the said *Sir William* and his Companie advise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they have according to his advice sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessities for the warres, of which 13 ships William Burrough one of the said fellowship is Captaine generall, unto whom there was given in charge, that if hee met with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoever robbers and theeves that are enemies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to apprehend and take them. It so

happned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd *William* with his fleete, met with five ships of the Freebooters neere unto an Island called *Tuttee*, which is about 50. versts from Narve, unto which freebooters hee with his fleete gave chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but three men, the rest were fled to shore in their boats amongst the woods upon *Tuttee*, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure more of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates, and so escaped, others were slain in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselves willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these five ships were left but 83. men.

The said *Wil. Borough* when he came hither to Narve, finding here *Christopher Hodsdon* afore-named, both the said *Christopher* and *William* together, in the name of *Sir William Garrard* and the rest of their whole companie and fellowship, did present unto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 82. men, which we delivered here unto *Knez Voivoda*, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we have kept by us, whose name is *Hauunce Snarke*, Captaine. And the

cause why we have done it is this: when wee should have delivered him with the reste of his felowes unto the *Voivodaes* officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees unto us, requesting that he might be reserved in the ship, and caried back into England, and the cause why they so earnestly entreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their lives saved, with great favour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with us to England, wherein we request your majestie's favour: notwithstanding what you command of him shal be observed.

Wee have also sent our servant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings as were found in those shippes: whereby your majestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee have commended unto Knez Yorive your Majestie's Voivoda at Plesco, by our servant. And have requested his furtherance for the safe deliverie of them to your Majestie's hands: which writings when you have perused, wee desire that they may bee returned unto us by this our servant, as speedily

as may bee: for these ships which we now have here will be soon dispatched from hence, for that wee have not goods to lade above the half of them. And the cause is, we have this winter (by your Majestie's order) bene kept from traffiquing, to the Companies great loss. But hoping your majestie will hereafter have consideration thereof, and that we may have free libertie to trafique in all partes of your majestie's countries, according to the privilege given unto us, we pray for your majesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narve the 15. of July, Anno 1570.

Your Majesties most humble
and obedient

CHRISTOPHER HODSDON, WILLIAM BOROUGH.¹

William Burrough, who achieved such a signal victory over the freebooters, and joined his friend Christopher Hudson in the foregoing communication addressed to the Emperor of Russia, was born about the year 1540, and became in several ways a distinguished man. When only thirteen,² he accompanied his brother Stephen Burrough, who commanded the ship *Edward Bonaventure*, which

¹ Hakluyt, I, 401, 402.

² Hakluyt, I, 417.

carried Richard Chancellor, in his famous voyage to the Bay of St. Nicholas in 1553.¹ “Also in the yeere 1556” he was, “in the voyage when the coastes of Samoed and Noua Zembla, with the Straighes of Vaigatz were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coast of Lappia, and the bay of S. Nicholas were more perfectly discouered.”² In 1574, and 1575, he was one of the Muscovy Company’s Russian Agents, and shortly afterwards Queen Elizabeth appointed him Comptroller of her Majesty’s Navy. In 1580, we find him giving certain “Instructions and Notes,” to Arthur Pet, who had been his messmate twenty-seven years before, and was now about setting forth upon his expedition with Charles Jackman. “A dedicatorie Epistle vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, by Master William Burrough,” is in the collections of Hakluyt, who says it was “annexed vnto his [W. Burrough’s] exact and notable mappe of Russia” and contained (“amongst other matters”) his great trauailes, obseruations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those North-

¹ See ‘List’ found on board Sir Hugh Willoughby’s ship, the *Speranza*, Hakluyt, I, 233.

² A dedicatorie Epistle vnto the Queenes most excellent Majestie. Hakluyt, I, 417.

eastern parts."¹ William Burrough's nephew *Christopher* Burrough, who may have been thus named after *Christopher* Hudson, wrote 'sundrie letters' to his uncle, concerning the 6th "voyage made into the partes of Persia and Media," for the Muscovy Company, in the years 1579, 1580 and 1581, in which Captain Thomas Hudson of Limehouse was repeatedly mentioned.

I have not been able to ascertain with certainty, any thing whatever respecting Christopher Hudson during the period of ten years, subsequent to the date of his letter to the Emperor of Russia. In 1580 however, he was once more living in England and was engaged with several other prominent men in a private adventure to Brazil. It appears that as early as the 26th June 1578, one John Whithall, an Englishman, who had married, and was then living at "Santos in Brazil," wrote to Master Richard Staper,² urging him to send to that port, a fine bark of seventy or eighty tons, in

¹ Hakluyt, I, 417.

² St. Martin's Oteswizek Church. "Mr. Richard *Staper*, an Alderman elect, who was the greatest Merchant of his Time, and the chiefest Actor in discovering the *Turkey* and *East-India* Trades, who died June 30, 1608," is buried in this church with the above inscription." *Mag. Brit. Acct. of London*, vol. III, p. 101, edition of 1738.

charge of a Portuguese pilot, and laden with a variety of articles, which were enumerated in a list that accompanied the letter.¹ John Whithall also corresponded with Master John Bird, Master Robert Walkaden, and his brother James Whithall of London; promising them at least two hundred per cent profit on the cargo sent out, and equal gains on the return voyage. Accordingly after some delay, "Christopher Hodsdon, Anthonie Garrard, Thomas Bramlie, John Bird, and William Elkin," formed an association to undertake the enterprise. Having procured the good ship the *Minion* of London, they loaded her with such goods as they were directed to procure, and despatched her to Brazil on the 3d of November, 1580; sending in her a letter directed to John Whithall, written in London, October the 24th, and signed by each of them. Although Hakluyt has preserved a copy of this letter, together with 'certain notes' of the voyage to Brazil, written by Thomas Grigs, purser of the ship, we have no account of the result of the speculation.

We are now to learn the interesting fact that two or three years after his Brazilian venture, Christopher Hudson was prominently and zealously busy

¹ Hakluyt, III, 701, 702, 703, ed. 1600.

with other leading members of the Muscovy or Russia Company, in furthering an attempt to discover and colonize the 'northern and western parts of America.'

On the 22d March, 1574, a petition had been addressed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Mr. Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville and others, to allow of an enterprise for discovery of sundry rich and unknown lands, "fatally reserved for England and for the honor of your Majesty."¹ Four years later, viz: the 11th June, 1578, the Queen granted letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people.² Having made an unsuccessful expedition under this grant, Sir Humphrey was forced to return to England, with the loss of a fine ship, and the 'valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.'³ Undismayed by misfortune, Gilbert's gallant and energetic nature, always equal to an emergency, enabled him to commend the subject of a second voyage for investigation and set-

¹ *Domestic Corresp. Eliz.*, vol. XCV, No. 63 Cal., p. 475, cited by Mr. Sainsbury.

² Hakluyt, III, 135, ed. 1600.

³ M. Edward Haies in Hakluyt, III, 146.

tlement in America, to the most favorable notice of many influential men.¹ Accordingly on the 11th March, 1583,² we find Sir Francis Walsingham writing to Master Thomas Aldworth, merchant, and at that time mayor of the city of Bristol, in the following terms :

“ I have for certaine causes deferred the answeere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westernne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2.

¹ The following affords a glimpse of Gilbert's dealings with Dr. Dee :

“ [1580] Sept. 10th, Sir Humfry Gilbert granted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royalties of discovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert, his servant or reteiner ; and thereupon toke me by the hand with faithfull promises in his lodging of John Cooke's howse in Wich-cross strete, where wee dyned onely us three together, being Satterday.” Dr. Dee's *Priv. Diary*, p. 8, Cam. Soc. Pub., 1842.

² 1582, as printed in Hakluyt, III, 182, is clearly incorrect, as may be gathered from Aldworth's reply dated March 27, 1583.

barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil proue profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell.”¹

Thomas Aldworth replied “to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westernne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the South-west of Cape Briton,” in a letter dated at Bristol on the 27th March, 1583. He said: “I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our companie of merchants; whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me

¹ Hakluyt, III, 182, ed. 1600.

pruiatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprize, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discovery, a ship of three score, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and gouernment of your *Sonne in law M. Carlile*, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation.”¹

The ‘M. Carlile’ incorrectly referred to in the above letter, as the son-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham, was Christopher Carlile, who, together with Gilbert, Peckham and Grenville, had nine years before petitioned Queen Elizabeth.² He was in reality the step-son of Sir Francis Walsingham. His mother was Anne Barnes, the daughter of Sir

¹ Hakluyt, III, 182, ed. 1600.

² *Domes. Corresp. Eliz.*, vol. XCV. No. 63, Cal., p. 475.

George Barnes, the elder, Lord Mayor of London in 1552.¹ His father, Alexander Carlile, 'master of the Vyntoners,' died in 1561, and an account of his funeral is given by Machyn.²

His mother³ married secondly Sir Francis Wal-

¹ Burke's *Hist. of the Commoners*, I, 139.

² Machyn's *Diary*, 269.

³ Burke's *Hist. of the Commoners*, I, 139. Anne Barnes, widow of Alexander Carlile, was the first wife of Sir Francis Walsingham. She died leaving no children by Sir Francis, who married a second time, a widow, Ursula, relict of Richard Worsley, Governor of the Isle of Wight. By his second wife Sir Francis Walsingham left one daughter, that was married thrice; first, to Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, to Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex; and thirdly to Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanricarde, in Ireland. Burke's *Hist. of Commoners*, II, 448. *Biog. Britannica*, VII, 4142. *Lodge*, III.

Sir Francis Walsyngham, of an ancient family in Norfolk, was the third and youngest son of William Walsynham, of Seadbury, in the parish of Chislehurst, in Kent, by Joyce, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. He was born at Chislehurst in 1536. He died April 6th, 1590. at his house in Seething-lane. Chalmers *Biog. Dict.*, XXXI, 69. It appears that in 1589 he entertained Queen Elizabeth at his house at Barn-Elms and, "as was usual in all her majesty's visits, her whole court. Previously to this visit the queen had taken a lease of the manor of Barn-Elms, which was to commence after the expiration of Sir Henry Wyatt's in 1600. Her interest in this lease she granted by letters patent, bearing date the twenty-first year of her reign, to Sir Francis Walsyngham and his heirs. He passed his latter days mostly in this retirement at Barnes." Chalmer's *Biog. Dict.*, XXXI, 75.

singham. We specially noted¹ the interest manifested towards Christopher Hudson by Sir George Barnes, and a little later we found further evidence indicating a relationship between the two families. We shall presently see Sir George Barnes's son-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, and his grandson, Christopher Carlile, closely allied with Christopher Hudson, in a mutual effort to set on foot explorations in the New World.

It appears that in April, 1583, immediately after the receipt of Aldworth's answer to Sir Francis Walsingham, Captain Carlile wrote "A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of *America*: * * for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12 li. 10 s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings."²

In comparing the advantages to be derived from

¹ See *ante*, pages 64, 65, 70, 71.

² Hakluyt, III, 182.

the present enterprise, with the uncertainties attending the trade of the Muscovy Company to Russia, Carlile remarks: "It is well known, that what by the charges of the first discovery [by Richard Chancellor], and by the Great gifts bestowed on the Empereur [of Russia] and his nobilitie, together with the leud dealing of some of their servants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the [Muscovy or Russia] company above fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnes, as any other trade that may be named.

"For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euerybody understood.

"Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperor's disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

"Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

“Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadors betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

“And lastly, the danger of the King of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us [the Muscovy Company], hath likewise an aduantage upon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.”

In strong contrast to these difficulties and dangers, Carlile brought forward the following arguments in favor of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's contemplated voyage to New Foundland.

“1. As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the discouerie thereof.

“2. Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

“3. Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

“4. Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

“5. Fiftly, that those parts of England and

Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

“6. Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

“7. And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this *trade* their Factours, *bee they their seruants or children* shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their *Parents and Masters*.

“As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainly able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

“But when this of *America*, shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by God’s

grace, that for the tenne Shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be employed well, twise the yeere at the least.”¹

Christopher Hudson, and his old friend and comrade William Burrough, were active and prominent members of the Committee, appointed by the Muscovy or Russia Company, to take into consideration the arguments of Captain Christopher Carlile, and to confer with him “vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America.”² The following abstract of the Report of the Committee is taken from the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, edited by W. Noël Sainsbury Esq.³

“The Committies are well persuaded that the country is very fruitful; inhabited with savage people of a mild and tractable disposition, and of all other unfrequented places ‘the only most fittest and most commodious for us to intermeddle withal.’ They propose that one hundred men be conveyed thither, to remain one year, who with

¹Hakluyt, III, 184.

² Hakluyt, III, 188. C. Hudson’s name, in the printed list, is spelled Hoddesden.

³ *Cal State Papers*, Col. Series, I. London, 1860.

friendly entreaty of the people, may enter into the better knowledge of the country, and gather what commodities may be hereafter expected from it. The charges will amount to 4,000*l.*, the city of Bristol having very readily offered 1,000*l.*, the residue remains to be furnished by the city of London. Privileges to be procured by Mr. Carlile for the first adventurers ; also terms upon which future settlers will be allowed to plant. In the patent to be granted by the Queen, liberty will be given to transport all contented to go, who will be bound to stay there ten years at least. None to go over without license of the patentees, neither to inhabit nor traffic within 200 leagues of the place where, ‘the General shall have first settled his being and residence.’”

The above is given as the most important portion of the document in the English State Paper Office, entitled “Points set down by the Committees appointed in the behalf of the Company to confer with Mr. Carleill upon his intended discovery and attempt in the northern parts of America.”¹ This is the earliest paper preserved and calendared by Mr. Sainsbury, who says in his preface, that it

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial Series, I.

belongs to the year 1574;¹ he accordingly introduces that date into the title of his work. It is evident, however, from the mark of interrogation placed after 1574, on the first page of his Calendar, that he is not entirely certain as to the propriety of this chronological arrangement.²

This report is styled by Hakluyt "Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile."³ It is placed immediately after Captain Carlile's "Briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage,"⁴ written in April, 1583, and must have been made a short time after Carlile's arguments were presented to the Committee for consideration.

I am accordingly of the opinion that Mr. Sainsbury, whose general accuracy is proverbial, is incorrect in assigning this document to the year 1574. He has in fact given it nine more years of age than it is entitled to receive; its real date being the spring of the year 1583.

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Col. Series 1574-1660, VII.

² Same, p. 1.

³ Hakluyt, III, 188, 189.

⁴ Hakluyt, III, 182-187.

Having perfected all his arrangements, and obtained his supplies, Sir Humphrey Gilbert departed from 'Caushen Bay neere Plimmouth'¹ on Tuesday the eleventh of June, 1583, with a fleet of five ships. One of the best of these, however, forsook his company, the thirteenth day of the same month and returned into England.² This was the ominous commencement of a series of misfortunes which culminated on the night of the twelfth of September following, with the loss of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the little frigate³ in which he was returning to England, after having taken possession of Newfoundland by virtue of his patent from Queen Elizabeth.⁴

Christopher Carlile's name does not appear in the list of officers, and it is not probable that he accompanied Gilbert's expedition, although interested in its equipment and success.⁵ Two years later he was second in command under Sir Francis Drake; and in Thomas Cotes's account of that

¹ Sir George Peckham, in Hakluyt, III, 165.

² Master Edward Haies, in Hakluyt, III, 149.

³ Edward Haies, in Hakluyt, III, 159.

⁴ Sir George Peckham, in Hakluyt, III, 165. Haies, in Hakluyt, III, 151.

⁵ E. Haies, in Hakluyt, III, 148.

West Indian voyage, he is described as ‘Master Christopher Carleil, Lieutenant General, a man of long experience in the warres, as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes, in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.’¹

Christopher Hudson had from the outset taken a deep interest in Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s scheme. Entering into his views in many respects, he had recommended the Muscovy or Russia Company to assist in raising the funds requisite to dispatch Gilbert on his voyage of investigation and settlement. His own acute and sagacious intellect had been engaged for many years in planning the exploration of America, and he felt the importance of the undertaking. How sadly Christopher Hudson must have listened to the news of the disastrous termination of his hopes, and the tragic death of his friend. He was not the man, however, to be daunted by adverse fortune, and he undoubtedly made other essays in a similar direction. In the year 1601 we find him holding the office of governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and writing to Lord Ellesmere in regard to the

¹ Thomas Cotes, in Hakluyt, III, 534.

export of cloths. The manufacture of woollen cloth was introduced into England by Edward the Third, in the early part of the fourteenth century; and under the title of Merchants of the Staple, the Mercers became extensive dealers in them. Having attained high distinction and eminence, the fraternity of Mercers was incorporated in the year 1393.¹ From the body known as Merchants of the Staple, another society arose in 1358, styled the Company of Merchant Adventurers. They did not, however, obtain this name until the reign

¹ The words *Mercer* and *Merchant Adventurer* are familiar to many persons, who perhaps do not attach a very definite idea to either term. By the former appellation, in remote times, was meant any dealer in small wares; but as the commerce of this country [England] became more extended, the operations of the mercers assumed a more important character, and the words *mercier* and *merchant* became nearly synonymous. Their existence as a company may be traced as far back as the year 1172, though they were not incorporated till 1393. They take precedence of all the other city companies, and number among their members, says Hall, "several Kings, princes, nobility, and ninety-eight Lord mayors." Sir Richard Whittington, whose romantic tale is familiarly known to every one, was a member of this company; as was Sir Geoffrey Bullen, maternal grandfather to Queen Elizabeth; and, what is a yet greater boast, Queen Elizabeth herself, who honored the mercers by becoming a free sister of this company. It is a remarkable fact, that there is scarcely a single mercer in the Mercers' Company at the present day. *Herbert's Hist.*, &c. and *Stow*, by Strype, *passim*. *Burton's Gresham*, Vol. I, pp. 185, 186.

of Henry the Seventh. They had in the first instance established a factory at Antwerp for the manufacture of woollen cloth. Their sovereign, seeing the flourishing condition of their trade, encouraged them to remove into England, which they accordingly did. The king was induced, by the success of his experiment, to prohibit the exportation of English wool, as well as to forbid the importation of all foreign cloth into the realm.

Burton says: "The prosperity of the Merchant Adventurers was permanent, and Sir Thomas Gresham, with many other mercers, was enrolled among them. Certain privileges and immunities, originally granted to this company by charter, had been confirmed to them by every successive monarch since their incorporation; and few as they were in number, they virtually monopolized the commerce of the country. They constituted a fellowship which was under the control of a Governor elected out of their own body; and they appointed deputy-governors for all their residences at home and abroad."¹ Such was the powerful corporation of which Christopher Hudson was now the chief governor.

¹ Burton's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, Vol. I, 188.

It appears that the Earl of Cumberland had obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent for the exportation of cloth, which involved him in a dispute with the company of Merchant Adventurers. Fearing lest his adversaries should succeed in setting aside the grant, or rendering it unprofitable, the Earl wrote the following letter to Lord Ellesmere, one of the Lords of the Council, praying him earnestly for assistance. From this epistle, which is endorsed by Ellesmere, "The E. of Cumberland, 5 Martj., 1601," we shall learn that Sir R. Cecill and Sir Edward Stafford had both previously enjoyed similar patents.

*"To the Ryght Honorable my very good Lo. Lo. Keper
of the Great Seale of Inglande.*

My good Lo. I resolved to have attended your Lo. this daye at the Court, but one of the sicke fittis wherwith I am often troubled forceth my staye, and, doubtyng least hir Maj. should enter into speeche with your Lo. concernyng my cause, pardon me for rememberyng you howe it standeth. The only inconvenyence can cum by it to the Marchant Adventurerrs is my grauntynge leave to otherrrs not free of thier cumpany, or to interloperrrs though they be free, to shippe clothes contrary to

the order of ther courtes here. I have ever beene contented, and still am, that thoes persons which ar obedyent to the Government shall only have lycence from me, soe long as your Lo. of the Councell doothe not direct me contrary; and for the pryce I will refer myselfe to any reasonable consitheration. For thoes clothes which have already beene shipped by unfreemen in straungerrs bottoms, the faule of clothe by the marchants practis forced me to seeke out any which would bwy; soe they broke the malytyus platt which was layde to macke the clothyer exclayme upon me, by which culler, provyng my patent hurtfull to the commonwelthe, it should have been revoked. Alsoe I was extreamply urged by hir Maj. officerrrs in the Custom House, and tould that if I should refuse to grant lycense to such as for dyvers years past had used to shippe, it would soe much prejudice the Qu. in her custom as justly I should be founde fault with for it; and to aprove that they myght passe in straungerrs bottoms showed me tooe letters to allowe it, writte to them by great counsellorrs, soe as I hoope I am not in the wysest censure to be condemned.

Sense my grant I have shipped over some 1200 clothes: there was nether Mr. Secretery nor Sir

Ed. Stafford, but shipped 3000 at the least before the sould ther patentes. My grant but for tenne years, the least of thers continued soe long: this last, if I had not loked into it, would have donne 15 at the least, when I am tyed to lycence none but them (which I willyngly submit my selfe to as long as your Lo. shall see it good for the reame), ether can I not in tenne yeare passe above 100,000 clouthes, or for so many as I dooe I gayne to hir Ma. the custom which heretofore she was deceived of, soe as by my grant hir Ma. shall not only receve 10,000*li*, but be truly payed hir custome, which I doubt not shal be twyse as muche more, for that which here tofore she never received any thyng; for all the former grantes, which thus long contynued, were certayne, myne (if upon experience hurtfull) to be revoked, and I protest to your Lo. upon my soule, I will as willyngly, whensoever it is found, laye it at hir Maj. feete as I dutyfull received it. All this consitheryd I hoope your Lo. will favor me. Her Maj. hath allwayes beene gratius, and I dout not will, out of hir owne disposition, be redy to favor; but fearyng howe she maye be enformed, I macke bould to laye before your Lo. the truth of my cause, not soe much caryng for the profitt, howe much soever I need,

as for the disgrace which it would be to me, if thes men, that yett never prevaled agaynst any former patenty, should nowe tryumphe over me, whoe only they mislyke, for that I will not see hir Maj. deceived as in former tymes she hathe beene. I protest to your Lo. the losse of my hoole estate should not cum soe neare my haste as this disgrace, which though, the justnes of my cause consithered, I feare not, yett the unsupportable burthen that it would be, if it should happen, trobleth me, and causeth me thus to troble your Lo., to whoes wyse consitheration I present thes, only assuryng your Lo. that if I contynue in this I will dooe honest and good servis.

Your Lo. to command,

GEORGE CUMBERLAND.”¹

On the 6th of March, 1601, the day after the above communication was received, Christopher Hudson, in his official capacity as governor of the Merchant Adventurers, dispatched the ensuing letter to Lord Ellesmere. I have already briefly referred to one of its paragraphs as containing the earliest information which I have yet discovered concerning the writer, Christopher Hudson.

¹ *Egerton Papers, Cam. Soc. Pub.*, 1840.

*“ To the Right Honorable and my verie good Lord,
the Lord Keeper, one of her Majesties most honorable
Privie Councill, at the Court. d. d.*

Right Honorable and my verie good Lord.
Forasmuche as dyvers matters weare not on Wed-
sondaie last throughlie aunswered so large as they
might have binne in the behalfe of the Marchauntes
Adventurers, and knowing as I do the good af-
fection which your Lop. not onely carryeth to the
honnour of our most gracious and excelent good
Prince, our Saveraigne good Lady Queene and
Empresse, but also the good of the common
wealth, have thought good for the discharge of my
dewtie to make knowne unto your Honnour so
much as my proper experience yeldeth unto me,
as by these artikles following unto your good
Lordshipp maie appeare. And now to the fyrst
allegation. Wheras it was said that before her
Ma^{tie} graunted privileges to the Merchantes Ad-
venturers in Germanie, all other Englishmen
might freely passe thither with their wares and
commodityes, the which I graunt to be true; but I
denye that there was any traffique in Germanye by
Englishmen before the begynning of her Ma^{ties}
raigne. For in the yeare 1554 I came from Dan-
syck by land, through all the maryne townes nere

the sea, except Stoad and Embden, and found no Englishmen using any trade in them, nor any cloth to be solde, but onely by the Stylyard men. As for the upland townes in Germanye, it is well knowne they had their factors and servants at Auwerp, not onely to buy their cloth of the Company aforesaid, but also to vent suche comodities as their countrie yelded; and it is verie manyfest that before the said Company settled their trades at Embden and Stoade there was no cloth by Englishmen shipped thither, which trade the Company fownd out when they were in daunger in the Loo Countries to their great costes and charges, and therefore no reason why others should have the trade from them. And before the said Company weare priviledged in Germanie, the said Marchantes Adventurers weare at libertie to adventure into all partes within the Straytes and Mediteranium Sea, and also into all partes within the East Seas, and to all partes of the Ocian Seas, which they maie not do now by meanes of new corporations to the Company of New trades, the Company of Eastland Marchantes, and to the Company of Trypolie, &c., and therefore no reason why they should be cutt of from the trade of Germanye, which countrie was alwaies not onely

cheeflye fedd with comodyties from them, but also with vent of the comodyties of the said countrie unto them as aforesaid. And whereas it was said that the Navye whould be better maynteyned by trade further of then Midlebroughe, that is in lyke case trew, yf the said trade be not managed in good order; but the Marchauntes Adventurers, even to and for Midlebroughe maynteyneth as good shipps as the trade at Stoade, for they sett no shipps on worck for that place but of 1500 toon at the least, and well appoynted. And whereas it was said that the clothes did beare a better price at Stoade then at Midlebroughe, it maie be well proved that by the experience of this yeare passed clothes hath been as well sold at Midlebroughe as at Stoade; but it is not the great pryce of cloth that is either good for her Ma^{tie} in the customes, or for the Common Wealth to sett people on worck, for the higher the price of cloth the fewer is sold, as by experience appeareth; for synce our clothes hath borne these great prices there is much more cloth made in Germanie then there was before. And whereas the Marchaunts Adventurers hath given thoir generall opinion, that so farr fourth as her Ma^{ties} Councell shall back them, that no trade where they be priviledged be

used but to the mart towne where theye sell themselves, yet it maie be doubted, yf Thearle of Cumberland's lycense do contynew, that it maie fall out otherwyse, whereof a reason or two I have thought good to sett downe, althoughe there maie be objected many others. For yf the Merchaunt be discouraged, as needs he must yf when he have bought his clothe he knoweth not at what rate he shall passe it in the Custom House, but shall stand for the same at another man's devotion, and so to be driven to paie more then he shall well knowe to gayne by the sayle thereof, will make men to pause and not to be hastie to buy anie cloth at all. In lyke cases the prices of course clothes being by this meanes advaunced, and thereby the great quantitie of the same sort of cloth be made in Germanye, then the lesse must needs be shipped out of England. Even so in lyke case maie be imagined when marchaunts shall without cause stand at the devotion of their enymie, whether their goods shall be turmoyled by opening of their packs, themselves wrongfullie put into the Exchequer, as late hath been experymented, which is imagined not to [be] don without the practise of the deputie of the said Earle in the Custom-howse, who is knowne to be a verie enymie to honest men

and those which dealeth uprightlie; and a great freind to those which by all meanes practiseth to deceave the Company of their imposytions. And forasmuch as the said deputie, and others his companions, would willinglie even now shipp their goods to Stoade, notwithstanding the great daunger there, it maie be imagined that they have some secreete doinges with some of the Haunse Townes, and the rather for that ever synce the Stylyard was put downe they have used dyvers greate practises to hinder the quiet and settled trade of the Marchaunts Adventurers, wherby the said Haunses have so obstynately contended: whereas otherwyse, before this theye would have sought to her Ma^{tie} for an ende of these troubles, wrongfullie surmised by the said Haunses, practysers to the greate hurt of the Marchaunt Adventurer. And thus, with prayer for the long contynewance of your Honnour amongst us, in most humble sorte, I take my leave. London, this 6th of March, 1601.

Your Lp's. most humble at commaunde,

CHRISTOPHER HODDESDONN.¹

¹ *Egerton Papers, Camden Soc. Pub.*, London, 1840, pages 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340.

At this period of his life it would seem that Christopher Hudson signed his name as above, Hoddesdonn. Lord Ellesmere, in the endorsement on the back of the letter, drops the final *n*, and designates him as “Mr. Hoddesdon, Governor of the Merchant Venturers.”

We have seen that aside from his original powers of mind, Christopher Hudson undoubtedly owed his success in life to the knowledge and experience which he had gained in the service of the Muscovy or Russia Company; with which corporation, moreover, he continued to identify himself, by taking an active part in its consultations, up to the time when our information concerning him ceases.

I am not aware of the date of Christopher Hudson's death. In fact, for want of further knowledge I am compelled to take leave of him at a most interesting period, viz: in 1601, while he is holding an office which confers upon him great power and extensive influence. It is the more to be regretted, *as this was only six years before Henry Hudson, the discoverer of Delaware and New York, made his first recorded voyage to the North in the employ of the Muscovy Company.*

Having communicated the principal portion of the information which I have obtained respecting

the Hudson family and the Muscovy Company, it now becomes desirable to consider the bearing of the same upon the life and character of Henry Hudson, the navigator.

Many of the observations and facts contained in the preceding pages may have appeared to you to be wanting in importance, or in immediate connection with our subject. I should share the same conviction perhaps, were it not that in attempting to present an account of my investigations and discoveries concerning the several members of the Hudson family, and of their intimate relations with the Muscovy Company, I felt the importance of retaining every item which might shed a ray of light, even in the most indirect way, upon the exceedingly obscure matter under discussion. As it is, I hope that I have enabled you to reach the two following conclusions :

1st. That Henry Hudson, who discovered Delaware Bay and the Hudson River in 1609, was the descendant, probably the grandson, of Henry Hudson, the elder, who died while holding the office of Alderman, in the city of London, in the year 1555.

2d. That Henry Hudson, the aforesaid discoverer, received his early training, and imbibed the ideas which controlled the purposes of his after

life, under the fostering care of the great corporation which his relatives had helped to found and afterwards to maintain.

What follows will serve, I trust, to strengthen these convictions in the minds of all.

We have learned that London was the residence of Henry Hudson the elder, of Henry Hudson his son, and of Christopher Hudson, and that Captain Thomas Hudson lived at Limehouse, now a part of the metropolis ; while Thomas Hudson, the friend of Doctor John Dee, resided at Mortlake,¹ then only six or seven miles from the great city, where he likewise spent much time. By reference to a statement made by Abacuk Prickett, in his "*Larger Discourse*,"² it will be found that Henry Hudson the discoverer was also a citizen of London, and had a house there. It is, moreover, safe to assume

¹ An examination of the records of Mortlake and the monuments in the ancient church there, taken in connection with similar researches at Limehouse, eight or nine miles distant only in those days, or perhaps in the old church at Stepney (as Limehouse was formerly a hamlet belonging to Stepney, from which parish it was separated in 1730), with the aid of the manuscript records of the Muscovy Company, will perhaps satisfactorily determine the exact degrees of relationship existing between Thomas Hudson of Mortlake, Captain Thomas Hudson of Limehouse, and Henry Hudson the discoverer.

² *Purchas*, III, 601, London, 1625.

that the great navigator was "born within the sound of Bow bells."¹

There is little room for doubting that Henry Hudson was trained up in the Muscovy Company's employ. From the 7th section of Captain Carlile's argument, to be found at page 100 of this address, it is evident that the children and relatives of the influential members of that company were frequently in its employ. It is also apparent from various documents preserved in Hakluyt's first volume, that after the firm establishment of its trade with Russia, the Muscovy Company employed two classes of boys, who were bound, in accordance with the custom of that period, apprentices for a term of years.

One class was composed of lads,² who, having

¹ This fact, together with the exact year of his birth, and the precise degrees of relationship which existed between Henry Hudson and the various members of his family mentioned in this address, will doubtless be accurately ascertained in the course of the examinations now being made in England under my directions. The results of these researches I hope to be able to present to the public at no distant day.

² See Hakluyt, I, 308. [May 5th, 1560.] "We send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our apprentice for yeeres; our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for; he hath been kept at writing schoole long; he hath his Algorisme, and hath understanding of keeping of bookes of reckoninge."

received at the company's expense a good elementary education, were afterwards sent out to Russia to keep accounts, and to buy and sell goods, under the direction of the chief agents. Some of the most intelligent were sent "abroad into the notable cities of the countrey for understanding and knowledge,"¹ and profiting by their opportunities, became valuable assistants in extending the trade, eventually attaining important positions² in this, or in kindred companies; a few even reaching high official stations as ambassadors and statesmen.

Of this class Sir Jerome Horsey and Christopher Hudson were conspicuous examples.

The other class comprised young men, also of influential connections, whose spirit of adventure

¹ The following occurs in the Company's letter to the agents in Russia, written in the spring of 1560, and preserved in Hakluyt, I, p. 299: "We doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Prentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for understanding and knowledge. And we will you send us aduertisement from time to time as well of the demeanours of our Prentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remiss, negligent, or otherwise misuse themselues and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why."

² See Hakluyt, I, 307.

and love for the sea induced their friends to place them as apprentices on board the Company's vessels to learn the art of navigation. This fact is thus referred to in the rare tract entitled *The Trades Increase*, printed at London in the year 1615: "the fleet that went ordinarily thitherward [to Russia] entertained three or four novices in a ship, and so bred them up seamen, which might make up the whole happily some foure-score men yearly, * * then there were some five hundred mariners and sailors employed withal."¹ The same authority informs us that originally seventeen ships of great burthen were yearly sent to Muscovy, and we know from Christopher Hudson's letter to the Emperor of Russia,² that a fleet of thirteen armed ships belonging to the Company were sent to the Narve in 1570. The following directions occur in the "Instructions given to the Masters and Mariners" of the fleet in the year 1577:

"Item, that notes and entries be daily made of

¹ " *The Trades Increase*, London, printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Walter Burre, 1615, 4°, containing 62 pages." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. III, p. 300.

The title of this tract was probably taken from the name of the great ship built by the East India Company, and christened by King James I, on the 30th Dec., 1609.

² See *ante*, page 84.

their Navigations put in writing and memory, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught and caused to learne and obserue the same.

“It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principall rule and gouvernement of the apprentices; And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shal be attendant and obedient to him, as of dutie and reason appertaineth.

“* * * Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the Primrose into any of the other three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient and most meete to serue the benefite of the companie.”¹

Under this discipline Captain Thomas Hudson, William Burrough, Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman acquired experience and laid the foundations of their future success. What more natural than that Henry Hudson, whose family connections were foremost in the management of the Muscovy Company's affairs, should be permitted in like manner

¹ Hakluyt, I, 295, 296.

The names of the vessels of this fleet, with their tunnage and the commander of each, will be found at page 297.

to derive every advantage which such a school could afford to one emulous of success as a navigator? This theory affords a clue to the origin of the great motives which controlled Hudson throughout his later career. We are substantially told by a "cloud of witnesses" that the discovery of a north-eastern or north-western passage to China and the East Indies was the darling object of Hudson's ambition : that in this all-absorbing thought lay the secret of his remarkable voyages and valuable discoveries. Was it not for the attainment of this very end that the Muscovy or Russia Company was organized?

Educated with a view to his future life, and bred in the Company's service, cruising in its ships, and gaining knowledge from the most skilful Captains, his mind was from earliest youth familiar with the aims and objects of this powerful commercial body. What wonder that the lessons of early boyhood sunk deep into Hudson's mind ; or that the desire to solve what he had been taught to consider the great problem of his age, should afterwards become the master-passion of his maturer years?

It would appear from "Certain Instructions delivered in the third voyage Anno 1556, for

Russia,"¹ that the Pursers on board the Muscovy Company's ships were obliged to keep books in which were registered the names of every man and boy, officers as well as common sailors, in each particular vessel. If these books are still in existence they would prove valuable assistants in verifying much that I have stated. The fact that we first meet with Henry Hudson in the employ of the Muscovy Company also confirms my views as to his early training. It is likewise especially to be noted, that of the four voyages of Henry Hudson, of which we know any thing, the first two were made for the Muscovy Company, while the fourth and last was set on foot by Sir Thomas Smith, at that time Chief Governor of the Muscovy Company.²

That Henry Hudson belonged to a prominent family, was peculiarly esteemed by the Muscovy Company, and had interest at court, is evident from the fact that vessels were sent out to search

¹ Hakluyt, I, 272, 273.

² See *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, p. 817. This is the first time that this fact has been noticed by investigators of the life of Hudson. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, and Master John Wostenholme, are specially mentioned by Purchas as furtherers of this voyage. That Smith was then governor of the Muscovy Company may be seen from Purchas III, 699, 711, 713, 716, 728, 731. For names of his other employers, see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, p. 255.

for him in 1612 by order of Henry, Prince of Wales, and the Russia Company.¹ His personal influence is further illustrated by the remark of Prickett,² who says, that in his last voyage, Hudson promised on his return home to have Henrie Green made one of the Prince's Guard.

It is quite evident that Captain John Smith's acquaintance with Henry Hudson commenced before the year 1607, which as we have seen, is the earliest period in which mention is made of Hudson by Purchas. Van Meteren, the Dutch Consul resident in London, who knew Hudson well, speaks of the friendship existing between Hudson and Captain John Smith prior to the former's voyage in 1609.³ Now Smith was in London in 1604, linking his fortunes with those of Bartholomew Gosnold, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Raleigh Gilbert, Edward Maria Wingfield and others. Dec. 19th, 1606,⁴ he set sail from Blackwall, and did not return to England until three years later. It is probable that Hudson and Smith were thrown

¹ See 2d Latin edition of *The Hudson Tract*, published at Amsterdam, by Hessel Gerritsz. For translation see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860.

² *Larger Discourse*, Purchas, III, 601.

³ Van Meteren's *Historie der Nederlanderen*, Hague, 1614. For translation see *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, p. 148.

⁴ Stith's *Hist. Virginia*, Book II, p. 44.

together in London during the first interval referred to, on account of their similar tastes and mutual acquaintances. For it is a remarkable fact that many of the prominent members and captains of the Muscovy Company were also interested in the settlement of Virginia. Among these were Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Captain Thomas Button, John Merrick, Richard Chamberlayne, Richard Staper, Arthur Pet, Thomas Gerrard, William Barnes, and John Hudson.¹ The two latter were undoubtedly connections of Henry Hudson. William Barnes, (afterwards a Baronet), son of Sir George Barnes 2d, has already been noticed at page 81; and I believe this John Hudson to be the identical John Hudson mentioned at page 45, as the unmarried son of Henry Hudson the elder. For we learn from several letters² that John Hudson (the son of Henry Hudson, the elder, founder and first assistant of the Muscovy Company) was alive as late as 1618. Admiral Sir William Mon-

¹ Stith's *Hist. Virginia*, App., pp. 9-14. J. Hudson's name is here spelled Hodgson.

² *Calendars of State Papers*, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I. I regret extremely that I have only had access to an odd volume of this series; and that I have not been able to find in any Library the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.

son,¹ who speaks in his *Naval Tracts* in high terms of Hudson, was also one of the Adventurers to Virginia. Another of Henry Hudson's friends, Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, was the chief promoter of the petition addressed to King James in the year 1606, praying that he would grant patents for the colonization of Virginia. It is from Hakluyt's famous *Voyages* that we have learned so much respecting the earlier members of the Hudson family, and it was to Hakluyt that Purchas was indebted for much information concerning Henry Hudson himself. Hudson evinced his esteem for Hakluyt as early as 1607, when he named a promontory, which he had discovered, after him. Hakluyt² was also the intimate of Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord High Admiral Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Drake, and many other distinguished men.

We know that in 1601, Christopher Hudson was governor of the Merchant Adventurers, which at that time, according to contemporary testimony, included more than half of all the

¹ Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, Book IV. Churchill's *Voyages*, Vol. 3d, pp. 386, 387.

² For sketch of Hakluyt see appendix.

wealthy traders of London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich, Newcastle, Hull, and the other chief commercial towns. It is possible that about this period, for a short interval, Henry Hudson may have been a captain in this corporation's employ. I have examined all the authorities to which I have had access, to ascertain whether he was engaged in the Turkey Company, which began in 1581; the Morocco Company, which originated in 1585; the Guinea Company, which arose in 1588; or whether he sailed in the employ of the "*Governor and company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies*," who were incorporated by royal charter on the last day of the year 1600.¹ I have found nothing to indicate his connection with either of the first three of these companies.

The English East India Company, however, engaged with the Muscovy Company in dispatching Henry Hudson on his last voyage to the North in 1610.² Sir Thomas Smith, already referred to as being the governor of the Muscovy Company, was at the same time governor of the East India

¹ *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, London, 1855, p. i.

² See Charter granted to the Merchants Discoverers of the North West Passage, July 26th, 1612. *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, London, 1860, p. 255.

Company, and this was only one of a number of instances in which the two companies, while under his guidance, united in a common enterprise. *The Trades Increase* alludes to the close connection existing between the two associations,¹ and Purchas confirms this view. At the close of the sixteenth century, owing to the rival enterprise of the Dutch, the trade with Russia² had greatly diminished, and the Muscovy Company again turned its attention more especially to the accomplishment of the object (the discovery of a northern passage to India) which it was originally organized to promote. Many of its most influential members were the originators of the East India Company (in 1600),³ and it was most natural that the two bodies should frequently unite in sending

¹ *The Trades Increase*, London, 1615. Harl. Misc., vol. III, pp. 291, 292.

² I regret that I have been unable to consult *England and Russia*, by Dr. J. Hamel, referred to by Mr. Bond as "translated by J. S. Leigh, London, 1854;" although "this valuable treatise only extends to the year 1576."

³ A comparison of the lists of the prominent members of the Muscovy Company preserved in *Purchas*, with the names of the principal originators of the East India Company, led me to think that the latter company was an offshoot of the former. An examination of *The Trades Increase*, printed in 1615, and other contemporary authorities had convinced me as to the cor-

out expeditions to make discoveries mutually beneficial. It is probable, therefore, that the records of the East India Company might furnish some additional facts in the life of Henry Hudson. Stow illustrates the intimate relations existing between several of the most powerful trading companies of that period when he says: The first Governour of this [East India] Company named and ordained both in the first and last pattent was Sir Thomas Smith, knight, who is also Governor of the Muscovy Company, and President and Treasurer of the Company and Counsell for Virginia.”¹

Thus we see that many of the foremost men of

rectness of this belief. In December 1614, Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India Company, reminded *the Court of Committees* of that corporation, “that three yeares since this Coumpanie did aduenture £300, p. annum for three yeares towards the discoury of the Northwest passage.” See Rundall’s *Voyages to the North-West*, *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, London, 1849, page 96.

¹Stow’s *English Chronicle*, London, 1618, pp. 509, 510.—Sir Thomas Smith was Treasurer from the first constitution of the Company (of Virginia) in 1606, till April 28th, 1619. And in that time there had passed through his hands about £80,000. Stith’s *Hist. Virginia*, book III, p. 186.—Sir Thos. Smith had also been Governor of the Somers Islands Company. Same, p. 189.—Sir Thomas Smith died Sept. 4th, 1625. He is mentioned as Thomas Smith, Esquire, one of the principal

that age were warmly interested at the same time in several different influential companies ; so that a skilful and experienced navigator in the service of one powerful corporation would be almost equally well known to the members of contemporary associations. In this way Henry Hudson, in addition to the fame acquired by his remarkable discoveries, would also possess a "national reputation" as a gallant and successful commander in the Muscovy Company's employ ; owing to the countless ramifications of these great commercial bodies, whose members were to be found in every city throughout the kingdom.

The position of his kinsman Christopher Hudson, as the head of the Merchant Adventurers, who had long maintained most intimate relations with Germany and the Netherlands, may have been among the earliest means of attracting towards Henry Hudson the attention of the Dutch, whose efforts had also of late been turned to the discovery of a shorter passage to India by the north. His subsequent brilliant services and voyages to the north would strengthen in the

members of the Muscovy Co., as early as Feb., 1587, in the letter of privileges granted by the Emperor of Russia at that time to the Muscovy Company.

minds of the leading merchants and capitalists of Holland, the conviction that Henry Hudson possessed the courage, experience and genius requisite to aid them in developing and carrying into execution plans which might lead to the realization of their hopes.

The first *recorded* voyage made by Henry Hudson was undertaken, as we have already observed, for the Muscovy or Russia Company. Departing from Gravesend the first of May, 1607, with the intention of sailing straight across the north pole, by the north of what is now called Greenland, Hudson found that this land stretched further to the eastward than he had anticipated, and that a wall of ice, along which he coasted, extended from Greenland to Spitzbergen. Forced to relinquish the hope of finding a passage in the latter vicinity, he once more attempted the entrance of Davis's Straits by the north of Greenland. This design was also frustrated and he apparently renewed the attempt in a lower latitude and nearer Greenland on his homeward voyage.¹ In this cruise Hudson attained a higher degree of latitude^{*} than any pre-

¹ See *Purchas*, III, 530. Also Dr. Asher, in *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, 1860, to whom much is due on account of his efforts to identify accurately the precise localities visited by Hudson.

vious navigator. He also remarked the changing color of the sea in the neighborhood of Spitzbergen, and first noted the amelioration of the temperature in his northward progress. His observations as to the abundance of whales and 'morses' in those waters, by directing attention to that source of profit, laid the foundations of the future prosperity of Spitzbergen. My space will not permit the enumeration of Hudson's other important discoveries in this expedition in 1607. He reached England on his return on the 15th September of that year.

Having the researches of previous writers before them, both Mr. Murphy, in his *Henry Hudson in Holland*,¹ and Dr. Asher, in *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*, are agreed that the journal of this voyage, contains the earliest information concerning Hudson's career. Indeed the latter says: "His [Henry Hudson's] doings before the 19th April, 1607, his family connections, his social position are equally unknown to us."² Both authors place

¹ *Henry Hudson in Holland*. By Henry C. Murphy. The Hague, the Brothers Giunta D'Albani, 1859. Privately printed. — Preface dated April 15th, 1859.

² *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*. By G. M. Asher, LL.D. Hakluyt Soc. Pub., London, 1860.

no reliance whatever upon the testimony of Adrian Van der Donck, whose inaccuracies, and tissues of idle inventions, are indeed patent to all acquainted with the origin and purposes of his works.¹

In view of the results developed by my investigations respecting Henry Hudson and his antecedents, the journal of this voyage no longer retains importance as the starting point in Hudson's history.

On the twenty-second of April, 1608, Henry Hudson commenced his second *recorded* voyage for the Muscovy or Russia Company, with the design

¹ This view of Van der Donck's statements comes with peculiar force from Mr. Murphy, whose investigations, in connection with his translation of the *Vertoog Van Nieu Nederland*, and his other qualifications, would enable to judge most accurately as to Van der Donck's reliability. The passage in which Van der Donck refers to Hudson's antecedents is as follows: "This country [New Netherland] was first found and discovered in the year of our Lord 1609; when, at the cost of the privileged East India Company, a ship named the *Half Moon* was fitted out to discover a westerly passage to the kingdom of China. This ship was commanded by Henry Hudson, as captain and supercargo, who was an Englishman by birth, but had resided many years in Holland, and was in the employment of the East India Company." *Beschryvinge Van Nieu Nederlandt*. 4to. Amsterdam, 1656. See *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. I, and *Hak. Soc. Pub.*, 1860, p. 158.

of 'finding a passage to the East Indies by the north-east.'¹

He had with him his son John Hudson and James Skrutton or Strutton, who had sailed with him the previous year. John Cooke, who had also been one of the crew in 1607, now went in the capacity of boatswain. Robert Juet, of Limehouse, who afterward accompanied him in his two last voyages, and finally basely conspired against him, now first appears upon the scene as second in command and mate. Ludlowe Arnall, or 'Arnold Lodlo,' as Prickett styles him, destined to share Hudson's tragic fate three years later, also shipped for this cruise, as did Michael Pierce, one of the traitors in the 4th voyage who perished miserably.

The name of *Humfrey Gilby* likewise occurs in the list of sailors preserved in Purchas. Having discovered the intimate relations which existed between Sir Humphrey (or Sir *Humfrey*, as Hakluyt calls him) Gilbert and Christopher Hudson, it has occurred to me as not improbable that the above is one of the many instances of misspelling or misprinting continually met with — both in Hakluyt and Purchas, and that the person referred

¹ *Purchas*, III, p. 574.

to was in reality named Humfrey Gilbert, and belonged to the family of the great voyager. This conjecture seems the more reasonable as Sir Humphrey Gilbert is known to have left nine sons.¹

On the third of June, 1608, Hudson had reached the most northern point of Norway, and on the 11th was in latitude $75^{\circ} 24'$, between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. Four days later he records the following curious incident which affords a glimpse of the love of the marvellous that has distinguished sailors of all ages and of every clime. On the 15th of June he writes: "This morning one of our companie looking over boord saw a *Mermaid*,² and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was come close to the ships side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after, a Sea came and overturned her: from the Navill upward, her backe and breasts were like a womans, (as they say that saw her) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like

¹ Prince's *Worthies of Devon*.

² A curious print of a mermaid is preserved in De Bry. *Decimæ Tertix Partis Americæ Sectio Prima*, page 4, edition of 1634.

the tayle of a Porposse, and speckled like a Macrell. Their names that saw her, were *Thomas Hilles* and *Robert Rayner*.”¹

It is scarcely necessary for me to do more than simply refer to Hudson's attempts to pass to the north-east beyond Nova Zembla; to his return southwards along the islands of which the group consists, and to his numerous observations up to the time of his arrival in England. To the concluding passage, however, in Hudson's journal of this voyage, I wish to call your particular attention, as it illustrates the remarks made at pages 53 and 54 of this discourse, and will also aid us in our enquiries concerning his next voyage. “The *seventh of August*,” he says, “I used all diligence to arrive at London, and therefore now I gave my companie a certificate under my hand, of my free and willing returne, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them; *for at my being at Nova Zembla, the sixt of July, voide of hope of a north-east passage* (except by the Vaygats, for which I was not fitted to trie or prove), *I therefore resolved to use all meanes I could to sayle to the north-west*; considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind

¹ *Purchas*, III, p. 575.

should friend us, as in the first part of our voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called Lumleys Inlet, *and the furious overfall by Captain Davis*, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now having spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by meanes of contrary winds, I thought it my duty to save Victuall, Wages and Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge upon the action then necessitie should compell, I arrived at Gravesend [England] the six and twentieth of August, [1608].”¹

Henry Hudson’s previous discoveries had already rendered him famous, and his safe return from another perilous voyage to the north was hailed in England with deep interest and satisfaction. The results of his explorations soon spread to the continent, where they were received with even greater curiosity, and aroused the fears of the Dutch East India Company then recently established. We are accordingly not surprised to learn from the *Negociations* of President Jeannin, that Hudson

¹ *Purchas*, III, p. 580.

was soon called to Holland by the directors of that corporation at Amsterdam.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the reasons for this step, it will be necessary to glance at the connection of the Dutch with the discovery of a northern passage to India.

We have already reviewed the northern discoveries made by the English, commencing with Richard Chancellor's successful expedition in 1553, and we shall now see how closely they were followed ultimately in their enterprises by the sagacious and energetic Hollanders. As early as 1578 the Dutch were trading with Russia; and Captain Edge testifies that a year or two later, 'one John de Whale, a Netherlander, came to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, being drawne thither by the perswasion of some English for their better means of interloping.'¹ Sir Jerome Bowes, who was the ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Czar, writing in 1583, says: "The Dutch merchants had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys, notwithstanding a privilege of the sole trade thither was long before granted to the English merchants."²

¹ *Purchas*, III, p. 464.

² *Hakluyt*, I, p. 459.

Indeed in the month of April of the same year, Captain Carlile had taken occasion to urge as a powerful argument in favor of Gilbert's American enterprise, that the Netherlanders were interfering sadly with the Muscovy Company's Russian trade.¹

Having secured to themselves influence at the court of Moscow, and thus gained a foothold in Russia, the Dutch, still following the example of the English, began to turn their attention to the rich countries lying far to the eastward, and likewise became interested in attempts to discover a short northern passage to China, and the Indian seas.

In 1580-81, Oliver Brunel, a Belgian refugee, captured by the Russians while serving in the Swedish army, was employed to explore the whole coast, from the river Petchora to the mouth of the Oby, by two Russian merchants, whose curiosity had been aroused by the efforts of the Muscovy Company. Brunel successfully accomplished the undertaking, visiting likewise Vaygats and Nova Zembla Proper. He afterwards went to Enkhuyssen, a town in West Friesland, on the borders of Holland, where his representations procured him the command of a vessel, in which he undertook a

¹ See *Ante*, p. 98.

voyage to the Petchora. Here, it is said, he collected much merchandise, but eventually lost his ship, and perhaps his life.

Brunel's explorations may be considered as the suggestive origin of the northern voyages subsequently prosecuted by the Dutch. The edict of Philip II, lately become master of Portugal, by cutting off their intercourse with Lisbon, and depriving them of their trade in eastern productions, soon, however, furnished the Netherlanders with an additional incentive to seek their riches from original sources. The discovery of a short passage to the Indies by the north, offered one obvious means of defeating the machinations of their treacherous enemy, and, if successfully inaugurated, might prove a certain road to commercial greatness. Accordingly, the same year that witnessed the preliminary organization of a company in the United Provinces, to attempt the establishment of a trade with the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, also beheld William Barentson and his brave companions actually setting forth upon their first voyage, to discover a north-eastern opening to the Chinese seas.

The expedition thus dispatched in 1594, owed its original conception to Balthasar de Moucheron,

a native of Antwerp of noble descent, who had long resided as a merchant at Veere, near Middelburg, the capital of the province of Zealand. Having interested several officials of Enkhuysen and Middelburg in his plans, he had obtained the assistance of the courts of admiralty, as well as the sanction of the higher authorities, to fit out two vessels, each of one hundred tons burthen, for northern explorations. Cornelis Nai and Brant Tetgales, both Enkhuysen men, were placed in command, while the famous John Hugh van Linschoten was chosen to accompany them in the responsible capacity of commercial agent and commissioner. The public spirit of the city of Amsterdam was aroused by these proceedings, and through the efforts of Peter Plantius, 'the Hakluyt of the Netherlands,' a third vessel was equipped, and committed to William Barentson for a similar purpose. The three ships set sail from the Texel together, on the 5th June, 1594, and returned in company to Holland about the middle of September, having failed to accomplish what they had hoped to achieve; although the Enkhuysen party had penetrated through Pet's strait to the Kara sea, while Barentson had sailed completely around the north-eastern extremity of

Nova Zembla, and discovered a group of islands, which he named the Orange islands.

The further exertions of Barentson and Jacob van Heemskerk in the two following years, were alike unsuccessful, so far as the great object of their search was concerned. The premature death of the former intrepid and skilful mariner, who perished in the midst of his plans, on the 20th of June, 1597, most effectually damped the ardor of the Dutch, and led to the temporary abandonment of their schemes in this direction.

In the meanwhile, the commerce with Russia was immensely increased, and the Netherlanders had become such powerful rivals as almost to supplant and exclude the English.¹ Houtman, the brewer's son, also, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, returned to Amsterdam in 1597, bringing with him the rarest products of the east. Thus the foundations of the great Indian trade were finally laid, and companies sprang into existence all over Holland, eager to participate in the almost fabulous profits accruing from this new source of wealth.

The discontent produced by the unequal fortunes attending the efforts of rival associations,

¹Harleian Misc.

soon awakened a natural solicitude in the minds of thoughtful men. Olden Barneveldt, advocate of Holland, and leader of the Arminian party, to which Grotius himself belonged, comprehending the situation at a glance, determined to calm the tumult, while at the same time he increased the power of himself and his friends, by combining the hitherto opposing forces under one government with common interests. Although this plan met with stout resistance from some of the more successful adventurers, it was finally adopted by the States-General; and two years after the English East India Company was incorporated, viz: in 1602, the Republic of Holland established the Dutch East India Company, thus creating a powerful corporation, which, though it originated with the *peace* party, presented a hostile front to all foreign foes.

The rapid growth and ample resources of the company may be estimated by the fact, that six years after its organization, it had in its service, besides smaller vessels, forty large ships, 'armed with six hundred pieces of cannon, and manned by five thousand sailors.'¹ Prior to this, it is known to have returned to its shareholders three

¹ Murphy's *Hudson in Holland*.

fourths of their invested capital, in the course of a single year.¹

Although the charter only expressly conferred upon the company, the privilege of trading with India by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, it is evident that soon after the company was created, the expediency of attempting to find a passage by the north-east was freely discussed. In fact, the fears of many, lest the discovery of a short northern route by rivals, should suddenly deprive them of their lucrative trade with the east, found expression as early as the 7th of August, 1603, in a formal determination to prevent such a result by every means in their power.²

It is, accordingly, easy to picture the consternation produced by the accounts of Hudson's return from a second remarkable voyage; and we have no difficulty in appreciating the reasons which governed the Amsterdam Directors of the Dutch East India Company, in sending a pressing invitation to the great navigator, to visit Holland and confer with them in relation to undertaking, in their service, another northern expedition.

¹ Brodhead's *Hist. N. Y.*, I, 23.

² *Register der Resolutien vān de Seventiene*, cited by Mr. Murphy.

Hudson left England in the winter of 1608-9. The exact period of his arrival in Holland is uncertain, as are also the causes which induced him to leave the Muscovy Company's employ, and to accept the offers of the Dutch. It is probable that Van Meteren, the Dutch consul resident in London, was employed to conduct the negotiations with Hudson. The arguments of this learned man, were calculated to have great weight with one whose whole energies were devoted to extending the range of geographical knowledge. The historian may have convinced Hudson, that under new auspices he would possess larger opportunities for accomplishing the wish of his life. It could scarcely have been the hope of pecuniary reward, which induced Hudson to listen to the overtures of the Netherlanders, for the sum which he was to receive for his hazardous services was extremely meagre.¹ Our acquaintance with his character, and our knowledge of his purposes and plans, must also preclude this idea, and convince us that it was the desire to crown the labors of his life with the triumphant discovery of a northern passage to India, which controlled Hudson's action in this matter.

¹ See *Dutch E. I. Co's contract with Hudson*. Murphy's *Hudson in Holland*, pp. 34, 35, 36.

Immediately after his arrival in Amsterdam, Hudson held several interviews with the resident directors of the Dutch East India Company ; and laid before them the results of his extensive experience in the far north. Having revealed his belief in an open polar sea, and the consequent existence of a passage that way to India, he proceeded to illustrate his theory by arguments drawn from the wide range of personal observations. His views were fully coincided in by the Rev. Peter Plantius, whose great attainments as a geographical scholar, lent additional weight to the cogent reasoning of Hudson. Impressed by the whole bearing of the man, and aroused by representations so forcibly and intelligently conveyed, the Amsterdam directors became eager to engage the services of the distinguished seaman. Reflecting however, that they could not bind the whole company, and that the power of sending out ships was vested in the Council of Seventeen, whose next meeting would be held too late to enable a vessel to sail that year with any chance of success, they felt obliged to confess that they were unprepared to engage at once in an expedition, and to rest content with a promise from Hudson to return to Amsterdam the following year.

No sooner were these negotiations terminated, than advances were made to Hudson by Isaac Le Maire, an eminent merchant of Amsterdam, born in Tournay in Hainault, who had formerly been a director, but was now opposed to the Dutch East India Company, and desired to enlist Hudson in the service of the King of France. Hudson apparently conversed freely concerning his plans and aspirations with Le Maire, who communicated them with a strong endorsement to President Jeannin, one of Henry the Fourth's ambassadors at The Hague, specially charged by the king to promote the establishment of a French East India Company. Rumors of the interview with Le Maire soon reached the ears of the Amsterdam directors, who, having written to the other Chambers, immediately recalled Hudson, and entered into a formal contract with him to conduct a vessel forthwith to the north; so that when Le Maire, having gained Henry's consent, and being provided with four thousand crowns for the purpose, applied to Hudson to undertake a voyage¹ for the French

¹ *Nég. du Prés. Jeannin*, Lettre du 25 Janvier, 1609. *Ibid.* Lettre du roi du vingt-huitième Février, 1609, quoted by Mr. Murphy. An English translation of Jeannin's letter is published in the Hakluyt *Soc. Pub.*, 1860, pp. 244-254.

monarch, he found the discoverer already pledged to the Dutch East India Company.

A copy of the contract between Hudson and the Chamber of Amsterdam, was discovered a few years since by Mr. Murphy, in the royal Archives at The Hague, appended to a manuscript history of the corporation, prepared by Mr. P. Van Dam, who was the company's Counsel, from 1652 to 1706. From this we learn, that the original was signed on the 8th of January, 1609, and that the services of an interpreter were required to aid Hudson in his communications with the Company.¹

The contract having been completed, the instructions for the voyage were prepared by the Amsterdam Chamber, whose action was sanctioned by the Council of Seventeen, on the 25th of March.²

In response to a resolution of that body, passed at their next meeting,³ copies of both documents

¹ The use of *Hendrick* for Henry, in Hudson's name, is a vulgarism. After what has been said, it is, perhaps, superfluous to remark that even in the body of the contract, and in the signature, in the Dutch copy, the whole name is spelled in plain English, HENRY HUDSON.

² *Res. van der Seventiene*, March 25, 1609, cited by Mr. Murphy.

³ For an interesting account of the internal organization of the company, see *Henry Hudson in Holland*, p. 21.

were afterwards sent to each of the several Chambers. It clearly appears from the authentic copy of the contract, and the abstract of the instructions preserved by Mr. Van Dam, that the directors agreed to furnish a small vessel of about sixty tons, well provisioned and manned, in which Hudson should sail about the first of April, "to search for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla;" and he was to continue thus along that parallel until he should "be able to sail Southward to the latitude of sixty degrees."¹ "He was further ordered by his instructions, to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the north and north-east above Nova Zembla; with this additional provision, that if it could not be accomplished at that time, another route would be the subject of further consideration for another voyage."²

The sum of \$320 was to be paid to Hudson for his outfit, and for the support of his wife and children, and in case he lost his life, the directors were to give his widow \$80! Should he find "the passage good and suitable for the company to use," the directors

¹ Murphy, pp. 34, 35. See D. E. I. Co.'s contract with Hudson.

² *Ibid*, p. 39, Mr. Van Dam's abstract of Instructions.

declared they would reward Hudson "for his dangers, trouble and knowledge, in their discretion, with which the before mentioned Hudson is content."

Having thus completed his preliminary arrangements with the Dutch E. I. Company, Hudson spent the intervening time before his departure, in grave consultation with the Directors, and with such other leading men as were competent to advise with him concerning his contemplated voyage. Preëminent among the latter stood the Belgian emigrant, Peter Plantius, minister of the Reformed Church in Amsterdam, whose varied knowledge of maritime affairs, was the result of an unwearying spirit of philosophical investigation. Born in Flanders, and compelled to seek refuge from persecution in Holland, Plantius had early engaged with Usselinckx in endeavoring to establish a *West India Company*, and soon became widely known as one of the leaders of the Calvinistic or Orange party. He was an ardent believer, however, in the practicability of reaching India by the north-east, and accordingly, took a deep interest¹ in Hudson's

¹ Van Meteren. *Henry Hudson in Holland. Hudson the Navigator.*

plans; as he had done in those of Barentson fifteen years earlier.¹

Purchas tells us that he found among Hakluyt's papers, the translations of two documents loaned by Plantius to Hudson. The first contained *memoranda* made by Barentson in the course of his voyage in 1595. At the top of the sheet was the following note by Hudson: "This was written by William Barentson in a loose paper which was lent mee, by the Rev. Peter Plantius, in Amsterdam, March the seven and twentieth, 1609."² The other document was thus prefaced: "A Treatise of Iver Boty, a Gronlander, translated out of the Norsh language into High Dutch, in the yeere 1560, and after, out of High Dutch into Low Dutch, by William Barentson, of Amsterdam, who was chiefe pilot aforesaid. The same copie in High Dutch is in the hands of Jodocus Hondius, which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch by Master William Stere, marchant, in the yeere 1608, for the vse of me, Henrie Hudson. William Barentson's Booke is in the hands of Master Peter Plantivs, who lent the same vnto me."³

¹ Purchas, III, p. 478, ed. of 1625. De Veer's Voyages. Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1853, p. 41. Biogr. Univ.

² Purchas, III, pp. 518.

³ Purchas, III, pp. 518.

Jodocus Hondius, mentioned above, had placed Hudson under many obligations. Like his friend Plantius, he was of Flemish extraction, having been born in Ghent, in 1563. Passing over to England at an early age, during the troubles in the Low Countries, he there engraved portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Drake, and Thomas Cavendish, the famous navigator. Whether he became acquainted with Hudson at that period of his life, does not appear. Having afterwards removed to Amsterdam, he engaged extensively in the business of map making, and gained much applause on account of the beauty and comparative accuracy of his work, as well as for the extent of his geographical acquirements. He was the adviser and interpreter of Hudson in the latter's communications with the Dutch E. I. Company, and we find that he afterwards signed the Contract as a witness.

Hudson's intercourse with Plantius and Hondius was of such a confidential character, that he apparently revealed to these friends, his most cherished purposes and plans. We have not forgotten, that in 1583, Thomas Hudson had assisted at the deliberations which resulted in the famous voyages of John Davis.¹ Now, in 1609, his relative Henry

¹ See *ante*, p. 138.

Hudson, probably referred to the fact that he had long regarded those explorations, as containing inducements for further search in the same direction, in case of failure in the north-east. Hudson also produced certain letters and maps "which his friend, Captain John Smith, had sent him from Virginia, and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading into the Western ocean, by the north of the southern English colony."¹ These authorities were hailed with interest by Plantius, who brought forward at this stage of the conference, the log books of George Waymouth, who had visited the mouth of Hudson's Straits several years before, in the employ of the English East India Company, and had also sailed as far south as latitude 41° 30' north.²

After collating Smith's accounts with the results of Waymouth's, and, probably, Gosnold's³ voyages, Hudson was of the opinion that there was also ample

¹ *Van Meteren's Historie Der Nederlanden.* Hague, 1614, Fol. 629, a. Hakluyt, Soc. Pub. 1860, p. 148.

² 2d Latin ed., Hudson Tract, Amsterdam, 1613. *Hudson in Holland. Hudson the Navigator.* Rundall's *Voyages to the North West.* Hakluyt Soc. Pub. 1849.

³ See Juet's Journal of the 3d voyage, Purchas, III, p. 588, ed. of 1625.

opportunity for discovery between the Chesapeake bay and the extreme southern point, visited by the two explorers.¹ He thought, moreover, that the road through the "Narrows," mentioned by Waymouth, might lead to India. The latter opinion was however stoutly combatted by Plantius.

We shall presently discover the comparative influence of these various views, upon the future movements of the discoverer.

On Saturday, the fourth of April 1609,² Henry Hudson set sail from Amsterdam, and 'by twelve of the clocke' on Monday, having passed the Texel, was two leagues off the land. His vessel, the *Half Moon*, a yacht of about eighty tons burden, was manned by a motley crew of sixteen or eighteen³ English and Dutch sailors. His mate was likewise a Netherlander. Robert Juet, who had sailed in that capacity the preceding year, now acted as Captain's clerk, and fortunately for

¹ Compare what *Strachey's Virginia* says of Argal, in 1610. Hakluyt *Soc. Pub.*, 1849, 42, 43, also Purchas IV, 1762.

² New Style.

³ There is a doubt as to the exact number. Lambrechtsten says 16 men. Van Meteren first speaks of a 'crew of eighteen or twenty hands;' but he afterwards tells us that Hudson (in making proposals to the D. E. I. Company for another voyage), wished their number raised to twenty.

posterity, also kept the curious Journal of the voyage, which is still preserved in Purchas's third volume.¹

It is certainly greatly to be deplored that Hudson's own Journal, which De Laet had before him when he wrote the "Nieuwe Werelt,"² has entirely disappeared, together with such other documents as Hudson on his return may have forwarded to the Dutch East India Company.³ By the loss of these invaluable manuscripts, we are reduced to the necessity of gleaning the particulars of this voyage, from the statements of others, not thoroughly competent to judge of the motives, which actuated Hudson at the various stages of his progress.

As we have seen, Hudson left Holland with the intention of searching "for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla." Van Meteren tells us, that having doubled the Cape of

¹ John Coleman, also one of Hudson's former companions, is the only other Englishman whose name is mentioned as having been on board the *Half Moon*.

² Printed in 1625.

³ Mr. Murphy was unable to discover any traces of these papers in Holland.

Norway¹ the 5th of May, he “directed his course along the northern coasts towards Nova Zembla; but he there found the sea as full of ice as he had found it the preceding year, so that he lost the hope of effecting any thing during the season. This circumstance, and the cold which some of his men who had been in the East Indies could not bear, caused quarrels among the crew, they being partly English, and partly Dutch; upon which the captain, Henry Hudson, laid before them two propositions; the first of these was, to go to the coast of America, to the latitude of 40°.” This idea had been suggested by Captain John Smith’s maps and letters. “The other proposition was, to direct their search to Davis’s Straits.”² The latter was the plan which Hudson had entertained, but eventually abandoned, when in a somewhat similar position, on the 6th of July, 1608.³

As his instructions were to retrace his steps, and return to Amsterdam in case of a failure to find a passage to the North East, Hudson would

¹The North Cape. Juet’s Journal, Purchas, III, p. 580.

² Van Meteren’s Hist. der Neder. The Hague, 1614. Fol. 629, a. Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860, pp. 147–149.

³ See *ante*, p. 138.

have been entirely justified in relinquishing further effort, now that he found himself with a mutinous crew, utterly baffled by the ice in his endeavors to discover an opening in that direction to the Celestial Empire. His anxiety to accomplish something worthy of his reputation, however, would not suffer him to adopt such a course. He perhaps argued that it had not occurred to the Directors, that insurmountable obstacles might present themselves, before his vessel fairly reached Nova Zembla; and he may accordingly have concluded that in his present situation, he possessed discretionary power. On the other hand, we are distinctly told by Mr. Van Dam, that "having found the sea there * * * as full of ice as it was in the previous years," Hudson "determined *contrary to his instructions*, to seek another route."¹ Whatever may have been his reasoning, we know that fortunately he did assume the responsibility of sailing in the opposite direction.

On the 14th of May, having gained the consent of his officers and crew, Hudson shaped his course towards the setting sun, hoping to discover an un-

¹ MS. History of the D. E. I. Company, by Mr. P. Van Dam, in the Archives at the Hague. Passage translated by Mr. Murphy, *Hudson in Holland*, p. 33.

interrupted passage to India, in the unexplored regions lying to the north of the infant Colony of Virginia.¹

A fortnight later, he had replenished his water casks at Stromo, one of the Faroe group, and was steering away south-west in hopes of seeing Busse Island, which one of Frobisher's ships had discovered thirty years before. Foiled in this attempt, he still pursued his voyage with unfaltering courage, for nearly a month, although beset by a succession of fierce gales, and on the second of July, was at soundings off the grand bank of Newfoundland, with foremast gone and sails badly rent. Falling in next day with "a great fleet of Frenchmen which lay fishing on the banke," he "spake with none of them;" but soon after, when becalmed, he allowed his own company to "try" for cod.

On the twelfth, the American shores gladdened the sight of the expectant mariner, and on the eighteenth, Hudson anchored in a safe and commodious harbor on the coast of Maine.²

Here the lawless character of the crew displayed

¹ Van Meteren is the only authority for the important events which took place between the 5th and 14th of May. Juet is purposely silent.

² Probably Penobscot Bay.

itself, in a wanton attack upon a party of Indians, who had made their appearance in a couple of French shallops. Distressed and alarmed by the occurrence, Hudson once more stood out to sea, and did not approach the land until the third of August, when he sent five men ashore, who returned laden with rose trees and goodly grapes. Hearing the voices of men calling, the next morning, he again sent a boat's crew from the ship, thinking there "had been some Christians left on the land." The sailors found none but "Savages," who manifested however, great delight on their approach. Supposing that the point of land which he now saw to the southward, was the same headland which Gosnold, in 1602, had named "Cape Cod," he held on his way and two weeks afterward found himself off King James' River in Virginia.

Resisting the temptation to visit his friend Smith, whom he would have found preparing to return to England, Henry Hudson, still intent upon the great object of his search, once more altered the course of the yacht, and steering northward, on Friday, the twenty-eighth day of August, 1609, discovered the great bay now called Delaware.

At noon, having passed the lower cape, the shores

were descried stretching away north-west,¹ while land was also seen towards the north-east, "which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land and the second point² of the bay."³ The remainder of the day was spent in sounding the waters, which were in some parts filled with shoals, as at the present time, so that the *Half Moon*, though of light draught, struck upon the hidden sands. "Hee that will throughly Discover this great Bay" says Juet, "must have a small Pinnasse that must draw but four or five foote water, to sound before him."

At sunset, the master anchored his little vessel "in eight fathomes water," and found a tide running from the north-west; "and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South-South-east."⁴

¹ Juet's Journal, Purchas III, p. 590.

² Cape May.

³ De Laet's *Nieuwe Werelt*. fol. Amsterdam, 1625, Book III, Chap. 7. Hazard's *Annals*, p. 3. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. I, N. S., p. 290.

⁴ Juet's Journal, Purchas, III, 590. Van der Donek speaking of the South River, or Delaware, says: "This is the place where the ship *Half Moon* first took possession." Dr. O'Callaghan, in his *Hist. of New Netherland*, Vol. I, p. 34, quotes the *Beschryving Van Nieuw Nederlandt*, as above, and also says: "Here he [Hudson], anchored the *Half Moon* in eight fathom water, and took possession, it is said, of the country."

“From the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands,” he “suspected that a large river discharged into the bay.”¹

In the course of the night, the weather, which had been intensely warm all day, suddenly changed. A passing storm dispelled the heat, while the breeze blowing from the land refreshed the weary men with the moist perfumes of sweet shrubs and summer flowers. At early dawn the explorations were renewed, and Hudson stood towards the “norther land,” where he again “strooke ground” with his rudder. Convinced that the road to China did not lie that way, he hastened to emerge from the Delaware, in search of new channels through which he might pass quickly to India, the goal of his wishes. Imbued with this idea, he continued his voyage along the coast of New Jersey, and cast anchor on the 3d of September, within the shelter of what is now Sandy Hook. His subsequent discovery of the river which bears his name, and his ascent to a point in the vicinity of the present city of Albany, are facts too well known to require repetition here.²

¹ De Laet's *Nieuwe Werelt*.

² The loss of Hudson's own Journal, in connection with his discovery of Delaware Bay, is indeed irreparable. Our sense of

On the return voyage Van Meteren informs us, that Hudson and his company held council together, but were of different opinions. "The mate, a Dutchman, advised to winter in Newfoundland, and to search the north-western passage of Davis throughout. This was opposed by Hudson. He was afraid of his mutinous crew, who had sometimes savagely threatened him, and he feared that during the cold season they would entirely consume their provisions, and would then be obliged to return. Many of the crew also were ill and sickly. Nobody however spoke of returning home to Holland, which circumstance made the captain still more suspicious. He proposed

the loss is increased by the remembrance that Hudson's River, Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay had probably been visited long before Hudson explored them; while it is pretty well established that Delaware Bay had never been visited till he discovered it in 1609. After a careful study of the subject, the above is the substance of all I have to offer respecting Hudson's discovery of Delaware, except that I give complete in the Appendix the descriptions of De Laet, and of Juet in Purchas. I have indeed collected much interesting matter concerning the discovery of the same bay in the following year (1610), by Argal, which I had intended to use in this connection. But I have concluded that it would be more appropriate to make use of these labors to illustrate a subject which I propose to discuss on a future occasion, viz: *the origin of the name of the State.*

therefore to sail to Ireland, and winter there ; to which they all agreed. At last they arrived at Dartmouth, in England, the 7th of November, whence they informed their employers, the Directors of the Dutch East India Company, of their voyage. They proposed to them to go out again for a search in the north-west, and that besides the pay, fifteen hundred florins should be laid out for an additional supply of provisions. Hudson also wanted six or seven of his crew exchanged for others, and their number raised to twenty. He was then going to leave Dartmouth on the first of March, so as to be in the north-west towards the end of that month, and there to spend the whole of April, and the first half of May, in catching whales and other fish in the neighborhood of Panar Island;¹ thence to sail to the north-west, and there to pass the time till the middle of September, and then return to Holland, along the north-eastern coast of Scotland. Thus this voyage passed off."

"A long time elapsed through contrary winds, before the Company could be informed of the arrival of the ship in England. Then they ordered the

¹ Somewhere near the coast of Newfoundland. No such name as Panar Island occurs on old maps. Dr. Asher is of the opinion that the island meant is the Ys. de Arena of Ortelius.

ship and crew to return as soon as possible. But when they were going to do so, Henry Hudson and the other Englishmen of the ship were commanded by the government there not to leave England, but to serve their own country. Many persons thought it rather hard and unfair that these sailors should thus be prevented from laying their accounts and reports before their employers, chiefly as the enterprise in which they had been engaged was such as to benefit navigation in general. These latter events took place in January, 1610.”¹

In the interval, it is probable that Hudson was present at the grand festival given by the English East India Company, on the 30th of December, (1609), on board the great ship “*The Trades Increase*.” On this occasion his old friend Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the company, received from his majesty, King James, “a very faire chaine of gold, with a jewell wherein was the King’s picture.”²

After a detention of eight months in England the *Half Moon*³ reached Amsterdam in the summer

¹ Van Meteren, *Historie der Nederlanden*. Hague, 1614, Folio 629, a. For English translation see Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1869, pp. 151 – 153.

² Stow’s *Chronicle*, pp. 509, 510.

³ On the 6th of March, 1615, she was finally wrecked and lost on the Island of Mauritius. Brodhead, I, 43.

of 1610. In the month of April preceding, her late commander Henry Hudson,¹ once more sailed under English auspices in search of a north-west passage. From this voyage he was destined never to return. Again cursed with a wicked and mutinous company, he encountered hardships and sufferings from their criminal misconduct, which the artful inventions of the survivors skilfully concealed. Though he had divided even with tears his last bread with his men, yet on midsummer's day, 1611, his ungrateful crew, thrusting him into a frail boat, with his son,² and several sick sailors, cut him adrift, to perish amid the arctic winds and waves of the "great waste of waters," which bearing his name, "is his tomb and his monument."³

Two centuries and a half have elapsed since Delaware's discoverer ended his heroic labors and

¹ For names of his employers, see Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860. p. 255.

² For account of his son, John Hudson, see *Appendix I*.

³ Bancroft, II, pp. 265-275, 19th edition. The eloquent and exact historian of the United States gives a graphic sketch of Hudson's career, in his second volume. Mr. Brodhead, in his *History of New York*, and Dr. O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, also furnish exceedingly interesting accounts of Hudson's life and voyages.

met his tragic fate; yet to-day three nationalities linger with pleasure over the incidents of his romantic career, and find subjects of common pride in the record of his brilliant explorations; while the silver thread of a great internal improvement¹ connecting the waters of the bay with those of the river which he also discovered, symbolizes the unity of interest which the States of Delaware and New York must always retain in the name of HENRY HUDSON.

¹ The Delaware and Hudson canal.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X .

I.

HENRY HUDSON'S DESCENDANTS.

It is apparent from the contract between the Dutch East India Company and Henry Hudson that he had several children besides the "only son" so often referred to by writers during the last two hundred years. I have taken the trouble to examine various authorities for information relative to this son, who accompanied his father in the two voyages to the North in the years 1607 and 1608, was with him, perhaps, in 1609, when he made his great discoveries in this part of the New World, and finally perished with him in his last voyage in 1611. I have been unable to glean any thing further, except the fact that his full name was John Hudson, having probably been named after John Hudson, son of Henry Hudson the elder (see pages 45 and 127), and that in the Journal of the Voyage to the North, in 1607, by Henry Hudson and John Playse, he is described as "a Boy,"¹ while in Hudson's own Journal of the second voyage, in 1608, he is mentioned as one of the crew, having apparently

¹ Purchas III, 567, ed. of 1625.

at that time attained to the full dignity of a seaman.¹ Of the other children, of whose existence even the world had been unaware, until the very recent discovery of the East India Company's contract, I have been unable to learn any thing. It is possible that some of their descendants are still to be found. If inquiries were diligently set on foot by persons interested in historical researches in different parts of the world, they might lead to the discovery of Hudson's posterity, and perhaps reveal many interesting facts, or even bring to light a truthful representation of the great discoverer himself.

Up to this time, excepting the imaginary description in which the humorous Mr. Knickerbocker indulges in his veracious history²—no writer, as far as my knowledge extends, alludes to the personal appearance of Hudson; and we are told by the best authority "that not even a contemporaneous print of doubtful authenticity" exists to perpetuate the form or delineate the features of the intrepid navigator.

It is not impossible, however, that his old friend Jodocus Hondius engraved Hudson's portrait, and that it may yet be found in some odd corner.

¹ Purchas III, p. 574, ed. of 1625, Dr. Asher in a foot note (p. 122, Hakluyt Soc. Pub., 1860), says: "Several works on arctic discovery assert that this John Hudson was the *son* of the great navigator. This is merely a conjecture, though not an unlikely one. It rests upon the fact that John was a *boy* when he lost his life with his supposed father." From what is said above it would appear that John Hudson was not a *boy* when he lost his life. As to his having been the son of Henry Hudson there can be no doubt, for Purchas himself (Vol. V, p. 818, 22d line, ed. of 1626), declares that such was the fact.

² Knickerbocker's Hist. N. Y., p. 78.

I have been informed by a gentleman whose graceful and scholarly contributions to literature have attracted a wide circle of admirers, that an intelligent Hollander mentioned to him several years since that he was cognizant of the fact that descendants of Henry Hudson still lived in Amsterdam. From some facts, however, which I have lately obtained, I am inclined to believe that the descendants of Hudson are still living in England.

II.

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

Richard Hakluyt, descended from an ancient family long seated in the county of Hereford, in England, was born, it is supposed, in or near London, about the year 1553. He received his preliminary education at Westminster school, and it was while sojourning at "that fruitful nurserie," as one of the Queen's scholars, that he paid a visit to his cousin, Master Richard Hakluyt, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, who first implanted in his mind the love of cosmography, and turned his attention to maritime discoveries. At the age of seventeen he was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford. Four years later he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, and on the 27th June, 1577, he received that of Master of Arts. Some years afterward he addressed letters to Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Francis Walsingham, with a view to the permanent establishment of a course of lectures on navigation; and prior to the year 1589 it appears that he himself delivered discourses on the subject. It is said that it was proposed to him to accompany Sir Humphrey

Gilbert to New Foundland. Whatever may have been the fact, we know that he did not go, and that shortly afterward he was appointed chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the court of France. While residing in Paris about the year 1588, by the Queen's mandate he became prebendary of Bristol. He did not, however, return to England until 1588. In this year he was one of the assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent. In 1594 he married, and nine years later succeeded Dr. Richard Webster as a prebendary of Westminster. He died on the 23d November, 1616, and was buried in "the Abbey Church of Westminster, dedicated to St. Peter, on the 26th of the same month."¹ A full account of his various works may be found in Mr. Winter Jones's introduction to the Hakluyt Society Publications for 1850.

III.

SAMUEL PURCHAS.

The Reverend Samuel Purchas an English clergyman, whose principal work, the *Pilgrimes*, and *Pilgrimage*, is so frequently referred to in the preceding pages, was a native of Thacksted in Essex, where he was born in the year 1577. After studying at Cambridge, "he became Minister of Eastwood in Rockford hundred in his own county, but being desirous to forward and prosecute his natural Genie he had to the collecting and writing of voyages, travels, and pilgrimages, left his cure to his Brother, and by the favor of the Bishop of London, got to be Parson of St. Martin's church

¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, I, 350, ed. 1690.

within Ludgate;" and was also made Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, (Vol. I, pp. 821, 822), gives a list of his works, and says, "by the publishing of which books he brought himself into debt, but died not in prison, as some have said, but in his own house, (a little while after the king had promised him a Deanery) about 1628, aged 51." Boissard, *Bibliotheca*, (ed. 1650), describes him as "an Englishman admirably skilled in languages and human and divine arts; a very great philosopher, historian and theologian; a faithful priest of his own church; very widely known for his many excellent writings, and especially for his large volumes pertaining to the East and West Indies."

IV.

DR. JOHN DEE.

Dr. John Dee was born in London, July 13th, 1527, and died at Mortlake, six miles distant, in 1607 or 1608. He was educated at Cambridge, and distinguished himself in science. After a short tour in Holland, he was elected fellow of Trinity College, and in 1548 took his degree as Master of Arts. Incurring the suspicion of being a conjurer, he repaired to the continent, resided two years at the University of Louvain, and visited France, spending some time at the College of Rheims. On his return to England, in 1551, Dee's learning recommended him to the patronage of Edward VI. Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary, he was accused of practising against the Queen's life by enchantment, and he was subjected to a protracted trial and long imprisonment, but was re-

leased in 1555. On Elizabeth's accession to the throne he was introduced to the Queen, and requested to name a propitious day for the coronation. He again returned to the continent, where he was supposed to have acted as a secret agent for the English government. In 1571 he fell dangerously ill abroad, and the Queen sent two of her own physicians to his relief. After his return he settled at Mortlake, where he was engaged for some years in his favorite pursuits and studies, and calculated horoscopes and nativities for private patrons. In 1576 the people in the neighborhood attacked his house, from prejudice against his occult science, and destroyed his furniture and library. In 1578 he was again sent abroad, and after his return he recommenced his experiments in the black science with one Edward Kelly, an apothecary of depraved character, who had had his ears cropped for forgery. They went to the continent together, and visited the Emperor at Prague, where Dee and Kelly finally separated. Returning once more to England, Dee was appointed Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, and soon after Warden of Manchester College. Leaving this employment in 1602 or 1604, he took up his residence again at Mortlake, where he died.

"His private diary, written in a very small, illegible hand, on the margins of old almanacs," was "discovered a few years ago by Mr. W. H. Black, in the library of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford." "The Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts, made by himself before his house was plundered by the populace, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge." Both of these curious documents were edited, with valuable notes, by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F. R. S., and were published in 1842 by the

Camden Society of London. For an extended notice of Dr. Dee and his works, see Chalmer's *Gen. Biog. Dict.*, London, 1813, vol. 11th, pp. 378–388. D'Israeli in his *Amenities of Literature* gives an appreciative analysis of Dr. Dee's character.

V.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE DIARY OF DR. DEE.

“1577, Nov. 6th. Sir Umfrey Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak.

“Nov. 22d. I rod to Windsor to the Q. Majestie. Nov. 25th. I spake with the Quene hora quinta. Nov. 28th. I spake with the Quene hora quinta; I spake with Mr. Secretary Walsingham.¹ I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland and Friseland.” Pp. 3–4.

“1578, June 30. I told Mr. Daniel Rogers,² Mr. Hackluyt of the Middle Temple being by, that Kyng Arthur and King Maty, both of them, did conquer Gelindia, lately called Friseland, which he so noted presently in his written copy of Monumethensis,³ for he had no printed boke therof.” * * *

“1578, August 5th. Mr. Raynolds, of Bridewell, tok his leave of me as he passed toward Dardmouth,

¹ “Ashmole informs us that Walsingham continued for a length of time one of Dr. Dee's best patrons.”

² Rogers was a member of the University of Oxford, and a large common place-book in his handwriting is in Archbishop Tenison's library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

³ “That is *Galfridus Monumetensis de gestis regum Britannie*. Hackluyt mentions this fact in his collection of voyages.”

to go with Sir Umfry Gilbert toward Hocheleya." P. 4.

"1579, Oct. 18th. Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davys reconcyled themselves to me, and disclosed some of Emery, his most unhoneſt, hypocriticall and devilish dealings and deviſes agaynſt me and other, and likewise of that errant ſtrompet her abominable wordes and dedes ; and John Davys ſayd that he might curſe the tyme that ever he knew Emery, and ſo much followed his wicked cownſayle and advyſe. So juſt is God !"

"1580, Aug. 28. My dealing with Sir Humfrey Gilbert for his graunt of diſcovery." P. 8.

"1580, Sept. 10th. Sir Humfrey Gilbert graunted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royalties of diſcovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude, in the preſence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert, his ſervant or reteiner ; and thereuppon toke me by the hand with faithful promiſes in his lodging of John Cooke's howſe in Wicheroſſ ſtrete, where wee dyned onely us three together, being Saturday." P. 8.

"1581, March 23d. At Mortlak cam to me Hugh Smyth, who had returned from Magellan ſtraights and Vaygatz." * * * *

"June 17th (1581). Yong Mr. Hawkins, who had byn with Sir Francis Drake, cam to me to Mortlake." P. 11.

"1582, July 16th. A meridie hor. $3\frac{1}{2}$ cam Sir George Peckham to me to know the tytyle for Novembega in reſpect of Spayn and Portugall parting the whole world's diſtilleries. He promyſed me of his gift and of his patient * * * of the new conqueſt,

and thought to get so moche of Mr. Gerardes gift to be sent me with seale within a few days." P. 16.

"1583, Feb'y 4th. Mr. Edmunds, of the Privie Chamber, Mr. Lee, who had byn in Moschovia, cam to be acquaynted with me." P. 18.

"1583, March 17th. Mr. John Davys went to Chelsey with Mr. Adrien Gilbert to Mr. Radforths, and so the 18th day from thence towards Devonshyre." P. 19.

"1583, Aug. 7th. Mr. William Burrow passed by me." P. 21.

"1589, Dec. 29. Mr. Adrian Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak, and offred me as much as I could require at his hands, both for my goods carryed away, and for the mynes." P. 32.

"1590, April 16th. Good Sir Francis Walsingham died at night hora undecima." P. 33.

"1590, May 18th. The two gentlemen, the unckle Mr. Richard Candish, and his nephew the most famous Mr. Thomas Candish, who had sayled rownd the world, did visit me at Mortlake." Pp. 33 – 34.

"1594, April 1st. Capitayn Hendor¹ made acquayntance with me, and shewed me a part of his pollicy against the Spanishe King his intended mischief agaynst her Majestie and this realme." P. 49.

"1595, Oct. 9th. I dyned with Syr Walter Rawlegh at Durham Howse." P. 54.

¹ "Dr. Dee has preserved several interesting notices of his intimacies with the principal navigators of his time. A general reference to Hackluyt will be sufficient."

VI.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT JUET, OF LIMEHOUSE, CONCERNING THE DISCOVERY OF DELAWARE BAY. FROM PURCHAS, HIS PILGRIMES, PART III, pp. 590 – 591.

The Point
of the Land

A great
Bay and
Rivers

A small
shallop
needfull

The
Northern
Land is full
of shoals

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelve leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land; and being hard by the Land in fiue fathomes, on a sudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and ioyned to the Point. Then as soone as wee were ouer, we had fiue, sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Riuers. But the Bay wee found shoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so wee stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seuen of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water: and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And hee that will throughly Discouer this great Bay, must haue a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or fiue foote water, to sound before him. At fiue in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the Eastward on many courses, for the Norther Land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee strooke, and wee went away; and steered away to the South-east. So wee

had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seven fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with some Thunder and showers, the winde shifting betweene the South South-west, and the North North west. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the Norther Land, which wee found to bee all Ilands to our sight, and great stormes from ^{Many} Ilands them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but seven, sixe, five, foure, three, and two fathomes and a halfe, and strooke ^{They} strike ground with our Rudder, we steered off South-west, one Glasse, and had five fathoms. Then we steered South-east three glasses, then we found seven fathomes, and steered North-east by East, foure leagues, and came to twelue and thirteene fathomes. At one of the clocke, I went to the top-mast head, and set the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-west by North. And at foure of the clocke wee had gone foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but seven fathoms, and it was calme, so we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-mast head, to see how farre I could see Land about vs, and could see no more but the Ilands. And the souther point of them did beare North-west by West, eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-west, so wee waighed and set sayle.

VII.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO HUDSON'S THIRD VOYAGE, FROM
JOHN DE LAET'S NIEUWE WERELT. Fol., Amsterdam,
1625, 1630. From Book III, Chapter 7.

The following passages are from the New York Historical Society's Collections,
New Series, Vol. I, pp. 290, 291.

As to the first discovery, the Directors of the privileged East India Company, in 1609, dispatched the yacht "Half Moon," under the command of Henry Hudson, captain and super-cargo, to seek a passage to China by the north-east. But he changed his course and stood over towards New France, and having passed the banks of Newfoundland, in latitude $43^{\circ} 23'$,¹ he made the land in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$,² with a west-north-west and north-west course, and went on shore at a place where there were many of the natives, with whom, as he understood, the French came every year to trade. Sailing hence, he bent his course to the south, until, running south-south-west and south-west by south, he again made land in latitude $41^{\circ} 43'$, which he supposed to be an island, and gave it the name of New Holland,³ but afterwards discovered that it was Cape Cod, and that, according to his observation, it lay two hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of its place on all the charts. Pursuing his course to the south, he again saw land in latitude $37^{\circ} 15'$, the coast was low, running north and south, and

¹ Near Cape Sable, Nova Scotia.

² On the coast of Maine.

³ See Dr. Asher's note, p. 155, Hak. Soc. Pub., 1860.

opposite to it lay a bank or shoal, within which there was a depth of eight, nine, ten, eleven, seven and six and a half fathoms, with a sandy bottom. Hudson called this place Dry Cape.¹

Changing his course to the northward, he again discovered land in latitude $38^{\circ} 9'$, where there was a white sandy shore, and within appeared a thick grove of trees full of green foliage. The direction of the coast was north-north-east and south-south-west, for about twenty-four miles; then north and south for twenty-one miles, and afterwards south-east and north-west for fifteen miles. They continued to run along this coast to the north, until they reached a point from which the land stretches to the west and north-west, where several rivers discharge into an open bay. Land was seen to the east-north-east, which Hudson at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land, and the second point of the bay, in latitude $38^{\circ} 54'$.² Standing in upon a course north-west by east, they soon found themselves embayed, and, encountering many breakers, stood out again to the south-south-east. Hudson suspected that a large river discharged into the bay, from the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands and shoals.

Continuing their course along the shore to the north, they observed a white sandy beach and drowned land within, beyond which there appeared a grove of wood;

¹ Near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; the description of the coast corresponds to the vicinity of Cape Charles.

² This was without doubt Cape May, now laid down in latitude $38^{\circ} 57'$, varying only $3'$ from observations of Hudson. The remainder of the description applies well enough to Delaware bay and river, now first discovered, as claimed by the Dutch.

the coast running north-east by east, and south-west by south. Afterwards the direction of the coast changed to north by east, and was higher land than they had yet seen. They at length reached a lofty promontory or head-land, behind which was situated a bay, which they entered and ran up into a roadstead near a low sandy point, in latitude $40^{\circ} 18'.$ ¹ There they were visited by two savages clothed in elk skins, who showed them every sign of friendship. On the land they found an abundance of blue plums, and magnificent oaks, of a height and thickness that one seldom beholds; together with poplars, linden trees, and various other kinds of wood useful in ship-building. Sailing hence in a north-easterly direction, they ascended a river to nearly 43° north latitude, where it became so narrow and of so little depth that they found it necessary to return.²

From all that they could learn, there had never been any ships nor Christians in that quarter before, and they were the first to discover the river and ascend it so far. Henry Hudson returned to Amsterdam with this report; and in the following year, 1610, some merchants again sent a ship thither, that is to say, to the second river discovered, which was called *Manhattes*, from the savage nation that dwelt at its mouth. And subsequently their High Mightinesses, the States General, granted to these merchants the exclusive privilege of navigating this river and trading there;

¹ This is about the latitude of Sandy Hook. The highlands of New Jersey formed the lofty promontory referred to.

² The latitude of Albany is $42^{\circ} 39'$. It appears from Juet's Journal of the voyage, that Hudson sent his small boat several miles further up the river than his ship proceeded, and in this way he probably reached the latitude of Albany, described as *nearly* 43° .

whereupon, in the year 1615, a redoubt or fort was erected on the river, and occupied by a small garrison, of which we shall hereafter speak. Our countrymen have continued to make voyages thither from year to year, for the purpose of trafficking with the natives, and on this account the country has very justly received the name of NEW-NETHERLAND.

VIII.

“THE HUDSON TRACT.”

HESSEL GERRITZ'S VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF HUDSON'S TWO LAST VOYAGES.¹

From the Latin and Dutch editions of the *Descriptio et Delineatio Geographica: Detectionis Freti ab H. Hudsono Inventi*. 4to, Amsterdam, 1612, 1613.

The following accounts are all due to the same hand; they even form parts of the different editions of the same work; and the natural supposition would therefore be, that they must be repetitions of each other. This is, indeed, in a small degree, the case. But the variations between them are very great and very curious; showing, as they do, the uncertainty of Gerritz's information, and how it was gradually corrected. It has, therefore, seemed advisable to reprint them all.

¹ Extracted from *Hudson the Navigator*, by Dr. Asher. Hakluyt Society's Pub., 1860.

I.

HUDSON'S FOURTH VOYAGE, A SUMMARY PRINTED ON THE
BACK OF THE CHART. — *An Account of the Voyage and
New Found Strait of Mr. Hudson.*

Mr. Hudson, who has been repeatedly engaged in the search of a western passage, long intended to undertake an expedition for this same purpose through Lumley's Inlet, a channel leading out of Davis's Strait; as we ourselves have seen pointed out on his map, which is in Mr. Plantius's hands. He hoped thus to reach the Pacific by the west of Nova Albion,¹ where another Englishman had, according to his drawings, passed through. Hudson found after many labors the way represented on our map, and he was only prevented from following it further up by the resistance of his crew. This mutiny took place under the following circumstances. They had been absent from home about ten months, being provisioned only for eight, and during their whole voyage they had met but a single man, who brought them an animal which they ate; but having been badly treated, the man never returned. Having thus left the latitude of 52° where they had wintered, and having sailed up to 60°, along the western shore of their bay, they fell in with a wide sea and with a great flood from the north-west. The commander intended to proceed further. The crew then arose against him, and put all the officers out of the ship into a boat, and sailed home to Eng-

¹ Nova Albion is a vague term embracing all the possessions of the English in North America. — *Translator.*

land. For this cause they have, on their arrival at home, all been put in prison ; and in the course of the present summer (1612), some ships have again been sent to those regions by order of the King and of the Prince of Wales,¹ to discover a passage and to look for Mr. Hudson and his companions. These have received orders that, in case the passage be found, two of them shall pass through it, the third shall be sent home with the news, which we are expecting.

II.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES.

From the Prolegomena to the First Latin Edition.

But as even after these voyages of William Barentz,² the English had repeatedly tried that northern way, the Directors of the East India Company resolved three years ago to send there a certain Mr. Hudson, an Englishman. He having found no way to the east, but, instead of it, the ocean almost entirely obstructed by ice, went to the west, and returned without any profit to England. He was then sent out again by the English, and his voyage was far more prosperous, but his own fortune far worse. For, having after many labors passed beyond the *Terra de Baccalaos*³ for about

¹ Henry, Prince of Wales, a young man of great promise, who died in November, 1612.

² The preceding passage of the Prolegomena, or preface to Hessel Gerritz's work, contains a short account of Barentz's voyages to the north-east in search of a short way to China. — *Translator*.

³ *Terra de Baccalaos*, or cod-fish land, is a vague term, embracing most of the cod-fish stations north of 49°. On the old maps the name is generally written in latitude 55° or 56°. — *Trans*.

three hundred miles ¹ to the west, and having wintered there in latitude 52°, and being sure to be able to go still farther; then, not only he himself, but all his officers, were put into a boat by their mutinous crew, and left to drift on the waves. The sailors returned home without delay. We have added his geographical observations to the present book. We expect more certain news by the ships which have already been sent there; and even the much desired report that they will have passed through the strait. These ships will thus obtain eternal fame and glory. * * *

The news of Hudson's recently found passage to the north of Newfoundland, and the hope of a strait, is confirmed by the testimony of the Virginian and Floridan savages, who all state most distinctly that their country is washed on its south-western side by a vast ocean, in which they have seen ships similar to those of the English.

III.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGES.

From the Latin Edition of 1612.

An Account of the Discovery of the North-western Passage, which is expected to lead to China and Japan, by the North of the American Continent, found by Mr. H. Hudson, an Englishman.

The English nation, encouraged by previous success, have grown bolder and bolder in their naval enterprise. Thus, besides their frequent voyages to the

¹ Probably German miles. The other accounts have *leucas* (leagues).

east, to Nova Zembla and to Spitzbergen,¹ they have made almost uninterrupted efforts to discover a western passage or strait to China and Japan. They expected that sailing by this road they would have on their left the North American shores, where they have founded their Virginian colony.

Several of those who set out in search of that passage entered Davis's Straits. Their example was followed by Captain George Winwood,² who sailed in 1602 nearly five hundred English miles up that strait, but was then forced by the ice to return. He now attempted to find the desired passage by exploring the narrows under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet. But having sailed a hundred leagues into them he again turned back, partly on account of the sufferings which the great length of the voyage produced among his crew, partly because he desired to explore two more bays, situated between Lumley's Inlet and Baccalaos, whence the sea was streaming out with great might. These facts are stated in his log books, which Mr. Peter Plantius, a diligent investigator of such matters, communicated to Mr. H. Hudson during his stay in Amsterdam in 1609, when Hudson was going to undertake a search for a passage to the north of Nova Zembla for the Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He did set out, but achieved nothing in the east; he sailed therefore straight westward, to attempt again the way searched out and drawn by Captain Winwood; which way, after passing for about a hundred leagues through a narrow channel, leads out into a wide sea. Hudson hoped to find

¹ Gerritz has *Groenlandiam*.

² George Waymouth. The mistake is corrected in the later editions.

a way through this sea, though Plantius had proved to him the impossibility of success from the accounts of a man who had reached the western shore of that sea. Hudson achieved, in 1609, nothing memorable, even by this new way. But he was again sent out in 1610 by his own countrymen. He now followed the way through Lumley's Inlet, pointed out to him by Winwood's papers. Having passed under many labours through the strait, he reached the latitude of 52° , where he wintered. Here he fell in, for the first time during the voyage, with one of the natives of the country. This Indian brought some merchandise, and was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris*,¹ from which circumstances Hudson concluded that he was not far from Mexico. The native, however, not being well treated, never afterwards returned. The English thus lost this only chance of adding to their victuals, and being provided for eight months only, they left the harbour they had entered and sailed along the western shore of the bay till up to 62° or 63° north. Here they found a wide sea and more powerful tides from the north-west, which Hudson and the officers intended to examine further. But the crew, who had already been two months longer from home than their provisions had been intended for, rose against their commanders, and exposed Hudson and his friends in a boat in the open air. The crew then returned by the way they had come, and reached their home in September, 1611, where they were thrown into prison. They are going to be kept prisoners till their Captain will have been found. In search of him three ships

¹ Thus the Mexicans call their flame-shaped poniards. (Gerritz's notes).

have been sent out this summer (1612), by the Prince of Wales and some merchants. They are to explore the passage throughout, and when they have found the open ocean, one of them is to return with the desired news. This ship is daily expected home.

II.

HUDSON'S THIRD AND FOURTH VOYAGE.

From the Second Latin Edition (1613). With notes indicating the variations of the Dutch Edition.

A Description and Chart of the Discovery of the Strait or Passage by the North of the American Continent to China and Japan.

The English, stimulated by the happy success of their maritime enterprise, undergo without hesitation the troubles which these expeditions involve; and in spite of the laborious nature of their voyages to the east, to Moscovia, Nova Zembla, and Spitzbergen, they are still bent on new discoveries. They have chiefly made uninterrupted efforts to find a passage in the west, where they have already occupied Virginia and peopled it with their colonists. This passage they have sought for between Greenland and New Francia. Their efforts have as yet been fruitless, and through ice and snow they have in vain fought their way up to 70° or even 80° of north latitude. The strait which they have thus explored bears the name of its first discoverer, John Davis. The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Waymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced

by the ice to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61° , which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a south-westerly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself landlocked, and despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and by other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides.

This voyage, though far from fulfilling Waymouth's hopes, assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Waymouth's logbooks fell into the hands of the Rev. Peter Plantius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when in 1609, Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the Directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plantius. Out of them he learned this whole voyage of George Waymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia, till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India. But Peter Plantius refuted this latter opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He seems, however, according to the opinion of our

countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609, was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis's strait. There he entered in latitude 61° the path pointed out by George Waymouth, and explored all the shores laid down in the present chart,¹ up to the height of 63° . He then sailed to the south, down to 54° ,² where he wintered. When he left his winter quarters he ran along the western shore for forty leagues, and fell in, under 60° , with a wide sea, agitated by mighty tides from the northwest. This circumstance inspired Hudson with great hope of finding a passage, and his officers were quite ready to undertake a further search; but the crew, weary of a long voyage, and unwilling to continue it, bethought themselves of the want of victuals, with which they had been provided for eight months only, and to which no additions had been made during the voyage, except one large animal which an Indian brought. This Indian was armed with a Mexican or Japonese *cris* (poniard), from which fact Hudson concluded that a place which possessed Mexican arms and productions could not be far distant from that country.³ At last

¹ *His* Chart (Zyne Caerte), according to the Dutch edition; a fac simile is in Hak. Soc. Pub. for 1860.

² 52 degrees (52 *ste. graed*), Dutch edition.

³ Wherefrom it appears that the people of that country have some communication with those along the Pacific ocean. (*Daer wt dattet*

the ill will of the crew prevailed. They exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the open sea, and returned into their country. There they have been thrown into prison for their crime, and will be kept there until their captain shall be safely brought home.¹ For that purpose some ships have been sent out last year (1612) by the late Prince of Wales ;² and by the directors of the Moscovia company, about the return of which nothing has as yet been heard. We may therefore hope that they have passed beyond that strait, and we do not think that we shall hear anything about them before they return to England from East India or China and Japan, by the same road by which they went out. This, we hope and pray, may come to pass. Nor has the zeal of our fellow citizens of Amsterdam cooled down. They have some months ago sent out a ship to search for a passage or for Hudson's Strait, to try whether any convenient intercourse can

schijnt die natie daer te lande ghemeenschap te hebben met die aen de Zuyder Zee.) Dutch edition.—Translator.

¹ The Dutch edition, published several months before the Latin, has from this point an entirely different termination. "He is being searched for by the ships which have been sent out this summer by the merchants and by the Prince of Wales, who is said to assist them. These ships are not expected to return before they will have been in Mare del Zur. We wish them good luck." (*Die ghesocht wort van de scheepens die dese somer derwaert gesonden zijn van de Cooplyuden ende van den Prince van Wallis die daer de hand aen hout, soo gheseyt wort, Welcke scheepens men meent niet te sullen weder komen eer sy al heel sullen tot in Mar del Zur geweest hebben, daer wy haer gheluck toe wenschen*).

² Henry, Prince of Wales, died in November, 1612, between the publication of the first and second editions of Hessel Gerritz. The ships sent out were commanded by Button, the discoverer of Button's Bay, a gentleman of Prince Henry's household. Button wintered in Hudson's Bay, and returned in autumn, 1613.—*Translator.*

be established with those places, or, if this should be found impossible, to trade on the coasts of New France.¹

¹ For an account of this expedition see O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i, pp. 68, 69.—*Translator*. See also *Henry Hudson in Holland*, pp. 31, 32. By Henry C. Murphy.

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